FINAL REPORT

Special Committee on the Review of the *Official Languages Act*

One land, many voices

Atausıq nuna, nıpıgıaqtuq

Atauhık nuna, amıkhun nıpıt

ᐊᑕᐅᓯᖅ ᓄᓇ, ᐅᓄᖅᑐᑦ ᓂᐲᑦ

Un territoire aux voix multiples

ʔı̨̀łaghe ní, dëne yatı łą̨

Gonè ı̨hłè, go yatı nełǫ

Ne łée, kede łǫ   Nan ıhłak, dııdeezhuu leıı

Ndeh łíé, zhahtıé łǫ

Mamawi kitaskenaw, mihcet pihtakosowina

Photo by: Robert R[illegible]shaw

Northwest Territories Legislative Assembly

- If you would like this information in another official language, call us.
- Si vous voulez ces informations en français, contactez-nous.
- **Kīspin ki nitawihtīn ē nīhīyawihk ōma ācimōwin, tipwāsinān.**
- Tłı̨chǫ yati k'ę̀ę̀. Di wegodi newǫ dè, gots'o gonede.
- ʔerıhtł'ís dëne sųłıné yati t'a huts'elkër xa beyáyati theʔą ʔat'e, nuwe ts'ën yółtı.
- Edi gondı dehgáh got'ıe zhatıé k'éę́ edatł'éh enahddhę nıde.
- K'áhshó got'ıne xədə k'é hederı ʔedıhtł'é yerınıwę nıdé dúle.
- Jii gwandak izhii ginjìk vat'atr'ijąhch'uu zhit yinohthan jì', diits'àt ginohknìi.
- UVANITTUAQ ILITCHURISUKUPKU INUVIALUKTUN, QUQUAQLUTA.
- ᑕᒃᑯᐊ ᑎᑎᖅᑲᐃᑦ ᐱᔪᒪᒍᕕᒋᑦ ᐃᓄᒃᑎᑐᓕᖅᓯᒪᓗᑎᒃ, ᐅᕙᑦᑎᓐᓄᑦ ᐅᖃᓚ ᔪᓐᓇᖅᑐᑎᑦ.
- Hapkua titiqqat pijumagupkit Inuinnaqtun, uvaptinnut hivajarlutit.

1-800-661-0784

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Final Report

Special Committee
on the Review of the
Official Languages Act

ONE LAND
MANY VOICES

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Northwest
Territories Legislative Assembly

March 3, 2003

THE HONOURABLE ANTHONY WHITFORD
SPEAKER OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Mr. Speaker:

On March 7, 2001 the Legislative Assembly adopted the Terms of Reference for the Special Committee on the Review of the *Official Languages Act*. The Special Committee was guided by this Terms of Reference in the completion of its work.

Throughout this review, we have been committed to an open and public process, to learning about public concerns and providing access to our citizens through our many visits to the language communities and various public hearings. I am pleased to report that the Special Committee's consultations have demonstrated the fundamental and essential value of all of our official languages and expressed the common desire to improve the provisions of the *Act*.

The Special Committee also compiled a comprehensive store of research as a means to make informed, factually based decisions in order to build practical recommendations and proposed amendments to the *Official Languages Act*.

As Committee Chair, I would like to thank my colleagues on the Special Committee on the Review of the *Official Languages Act*. They have shown great commitment, both in the many long hours they spent at meetings and traveling — taking time away from their families — and in their genuine interest in language issues and caring for the future of our Territory.

The Special Committee's completed report consists of five documents: A summary report in all official languages, the final report in English and French, a draft proposed bill to amend the *Official Languages Act* and a CD-ROM version of the completed report. Your Special Committee on the Review of the *Official Languages Act* has the honour of presenting its report to the Legislative Assembly and commends it to the House.

Respectfully submitted,

Steven Nitah

Steven Nitah
Chair

Yellowknife, Northwest Territories, Canada X1A 2L9/Fax (867) 920-4735/Telephone (867) 669-2200

Special Committee on the Review of the *Official Languages Act*

MEMBERSHIP

Mr. Steven Nitah
Chair
MLA, Tu Nedhe

Mr. David Krutko
Deputy Chair
MLA, Mackenzie Delta

Hon. Roger T. Allen
MLA, Inuvik Twin Lakes

Mr. Brendan Bell
MLA, Yellowknife South

Mr. Michael McLeod
MLA, Deh Cho

Alternates

Hon. Jim Antoine
MLA, Nahendeh

Ms. Sandy Lee
MLA, Range Lake

Committee Staff

Mr. David Hamilton, Committee Clerk

Mr. Benoît Boutin, Committee Coordinator

Mr. Wayne Balanoff, Manager, Research and Information

Mr. Andrew Stewart, Assistant Committee Clerk

MEMBERS OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE REVIEW OF THE *OFFICIAL LANGUAGES ACT*

SCOL members (from left to right): Brendan Bell, MLA for Yellowknife South, David Krutko, MLA for Mackenzie Delta, Hon. Roger T. Allen, MLA for Inuvik Twin Lakes, Michael McLeod, MLA for Deh Cho and SCOL Chair, Steven Nitah, MLA for Tu Nedhe.

Northwest
Territories Legislative Assembly

ESTABLISHMENT OF A SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE REVIEW OF THE *OFFICIAL LANGUAGES ACT*

WHEREAS the Legislative Assembly enacted the *Official Languages Act* in 1984, and amended it in 1986 and 1990;

AND WHEREAS the Official Languages have equality of status and equal rights and privileges as to their use in all institutions of the Legislative Assembly and Government of the Northwest Territories;

AND WHEREAS Section 29 of the *Official Languages Act* requires that the Legislative Assembly or a committee established by it shall review the provisions and operation of the Act at the session next following December 31, 2000;

AND WHEREAS the mandatory 10-year review shall include an examination of the administration and implementation of the Act, the effectiveness of its provisions, the achievement of the objectives stated in its preamble, and may include recommendations for changes to the Act;

AND WHEREAS the Languages Commissioner shall provide all reasonable assistance to the Legislative Assembly or a Committee established to review the Act;

AND WHEREAS the Legislative Assembly wishes to begin the review of the *Official Languages Act*;

NOW THEREFORE I MOVE, seconded by the Honourable Member for Mackenzie Delta that the Legislative Assembly hereby establishes a Special Committee to be named the Special Committee to Review the *Official Languages Act*;

AND FURTHER that the following Members be named to the Special Committee:
Honourable Mr. Allen, the Member for Inuvik Twin Lakes

Mr. Bell, the Member for Yellowknife South
Mr. Krutko, the Member for Mackenzie Delta
Mr. McLeod, the Member for Deh Cho
Mr. Nitah, the Member for Tu Nedhe

AND FURTHERMORE that notwithstanding Rule 88 (2) the following Members be named as alternate Members to the Special Committee:

Honourable Mr. Antoine, the Member for Nahendeh
Ms. Lee, the Member for Range Lake
Mr. Miltenberger, the Member for Thebacha

AND FURTHERMORE, that the Special Committee prepare its Terms of Reference and present them at the first opportunity during the sitting of the Legislative Assembly in February 2001.

Adopted November 15, 2000

TERMS OF REFERENCE FOR THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE REVIEW OF THE *OFFICIAL LANGUAGES ACT*

WHEREAS, the Legislative Assembly has established the Special Committee on the Review of the *Official Languages Act;*

AND WHEREAS, the Special Committee requires the approval of the Legislative Assembly of its Terms of Reference;

AND WHEREAS, the Special Committee has given consideration as to its Terms of Reference:

NOW THEREFORE I MOVE, seconded by the Member for Inuvik Twin Lakes, that the following provisions be adopted as the terms of reference for the Special Committee on the Review of the *Official Languages Act:*

1. The Special Committee in undertaking its review, adopts the following as operating principles:

   a) The Special Committee will respect the right of language communities to represent their ideas and needs to the committee in the official language of their choice.

   b) The Special Committee is committed to having amendments to the *Official Languages Act* introduced within the term of this Assembly.

   c) The Special Committee is committed to an open and public process in reviewing the *Act* and to providing opportunities for "stakeholder groups" and the general public to participate in the review process.

   d) The Special Committee is committed to strengthening the official languages of the NWT and carrying out its duties related to the *Act* in a manner that is consistent with this commitment.

   e) The Special Committee is committed to public consultation, which will occur in each of the language areas of the NWT and with representatives of each recognized linguistic group of the NWT.

   f) The Special Committee recognizes the value of elders in relation to aboriginal languages and will ensure elders participate fully in the review process.

2. The Special Committee shall:

   a) review the provisions and operation of the *Official Languages Act;*

   b) examine the objectives set out in the preamble to the *Act* and the extent to which the objectives have been achieved;

   c) examine all provisions of the *Act* including the rights and responsibilities established in the *Act* and the extent to which they have been effective in supporting the achievement of the stated objectives;

   d) review the administrative regulations, policies and procedures established by the Government of the NWT designed to guide the implementation and interpretation of the *Act;*

   e) examine the effectiveness of the *Act's* provisions in relation to the general public and the government departments and agencies charged with providing services;

   f) evaluate the specific needs related to each of the official languages in the NWT;

   g) examine the extent to which the public understands the current *Act* and current language rights;

   h) examine and consider the role and responsibilities of the Languages Commissioner;

   i) examine and consider other *Acts* that have reference to the Official Languages of the NWT; and

   j) evaluate official language *Acts*, policies and programs in other jurisdictions;

3. Upon the conclusion of these considerations, the Special Committee shall provide the Legislative Assembly with interim reports and a final report to determine whether or not the *Act* requires revisions regarding:

   a) the objectives of the *Act*;

   b) changes to any provisions of the *Act*;

   c) changes to current and related policies; and

   d) the implications for the *Education Act, The Jury Act* and other *Territorial Legislation.*

4. The Special Committee is committed to working in partnership with the Languages Commissioner and Office of the Languages Commissioner who shall provide all reasonable assistance to the Special Committee including acting in an advisory capacity, providing relevant studies or reports and forwarding information, concerns or issues raised by the public regarding language legislation;

5. The Special Committee shall establish processes for providing information and affording the NWT residents an opportunity to make their views known;

6. The Special Committee shall have access to such persons, papers and records as necessary to the conduct of its business;
7. The Special Committee shall be provided through appropriations with adequate funds to carry out its terms of reference and assigned responsibilities;
8. The Special Committee is authorized to employ such staff and/or consultants and contractors as may be necessary to carry out its responsibilities;
9. The Special Committee may consider other matters referred to it by the Legislative Assembly; and
10. The Special Committee may make recommendations it considers desirable through interim and a final report.

Adopted March 7, 2001

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We, the Special Committee on the Review of the *Official Languages Act*, are deeply indebted to the many people who over the past two years have contributed to the completion of our work. First and foremost, we wish to thank those citizens who took the time to provide guidance, input and advice to this review, for the well-being and future of our Territory. Specifically, our many thanks go out to:

- Those who attended the First and Second Territorial Languages Assemblies and provided guidance to the committee in its consultation process;
- Those key people in each community who assisted in organizing our public meetings and our visits to schools and other language-related facilities;
- Those citizens who attended the community meetings;
- Those Aboriginal and French language community leaders who gave us their insight and support; and
- Those individuals and organizations that took the time to consider caringly the needs and future of our languages, and to develop and make presentations at the public hearings.

We traveled to many communities across the Northwest Territories and have had the opportunity to learn from the vast amount of knowledge and experience within each of the language communities. We were heartened by the sincerity with which northerners care for and respect each other and were inspired by their deep concern for our future generations. We also experienced the warm hospitality of those who provided us with good food and lodging, for which we are truly grateful.

We also recognize that our review would not have been possible without the hard work and dedication of our staff and the assistance and input of the many people that work, and/or in many cases volunteer, in the languages field. We would like to acknowledge the hard work of the principal writer, Mr. Peter Redvers; the senior editor and advisor Dr. Hal Gerein; and our Managers of Research and Information: Ms. Denise Bekkema from May 2001 to August 2002, and Mr. Wayne Balanoff from August 2002 to our successful end. We are especially thankful for and acknowledge the leadership, dedication, and support of Mr. Benoît Boutin, our Committee Coordinator, who began the review with us, traveled with us, kept us on course and on budget, and saw the project to its end.

We would like to recognize the support of the Office of the Clerk of the Legislative Assembly, the input from and collaboration with the Office of the Languages Commissioner of the NWT, the Language Commissioner of Canada, the Government of the Northwest Territories and their many staff. A very special thank you to the Department of Canadian Heritage for their support of the review.

Thanks to all the consultants, expert reviewers and proofreaders who contributed to this review. A special thanks to all the interpreters and translators for their hard work and care to interpret and translate the report accurately. Finally, our appreciation goes to the Office of the Chief Electoral Officer for allowing the staff of the Committee to share in his offices.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION TO THE REVIEW OF THE *OFFICIAL LANGUAGES ACT*

Languages are about our identity — who we are and how we understand and interact with each other and the world around us. The Northwest Territories is unique in Canada and among nations because we effectively have 11 official languages. We are not unique in our efforts to value our languages and in our challenge to maintain and strengthen them as working languages of our society. Many other countries and regions are also struggling to preserve and revitalize their minority and indigenous languages. This report provides a review of government policy with respect to the languages that we use in our northern society. It speaks to the importance of our NWT official languages to our society.

The Legislative Assembly of the Northwest Territories adopted the terms of reference of the Special Committee on the Review of the *Official Languages Act* (the Special Committee, the Committee or SCOL) in the spring 2001. The Special Committee was honoured to carry out this important public policy review. But the Committee was also challenged by its scope and complexity. The Committee has worked hard and learned a great deal about languages. It has listened carefully to all and made a serious effort to establish a vision and make practical recommendations that strengthen our northern languages. With the release of this report, the Special Committee urges all NWT citizens to open their hearts and their minds to reflect on the value of our languages and the cultures in which they are rooted. We must continue to invest in our languages as a means to building a healthy, sustainable society.

The final report of the Special Committee on the Review of the *Official Languages Act* consists of five publications. The first publication is a summary in all official languages. The second publication is the full report in English. The third publication is a translation of the full report in French. The fourth publication is a proposed draft Bill to amend the *Official Languages Act*. The fifth publication is a CD-ROM with the four publications that will be published in the spring of 2003. The final report provides an overview and analysis of historic and current language policies and initiatives, a rationale and framework for ongoing language protection and revitalization, and offers a comprehensive set of recommendations for change. The release and tabling of these five publications in the Legislative Assembly concludes the Committee's work.

The Spirit and Intent of the Official Languages Act

The *Official Languages Act (OLA)* recognizes Chipewyan, Cree, Dogrib, English, French, Gwich'in, Inuktitut (including Inuvialuktun and Inuinnaqtun), and Slavey (including North Slavey and South Slavey) as 'Official languages' of the Northwest Territories (NWT). The spirit and intent of the *OLA* is captured in a few key phrases from its preamble:

- Being committed to the preservation, development, and enhancement of the aboriginal languages
- Desiring to provide in law for the use of the aboriginal languages in the Territories including the use of the aboriginal languages for all or any of the official purposes of the Territories at the time and in the manner that is appropriate
- Desiring to establish English and French as the Official Languages of the Territories having equality of status and equal rights and privileges as Official Languages.

Throughout the period following the establishment and amendment of the *Official Languages Act*, the Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT) has worked to identify and meet official language needs, through a variety of policies and programs. Despite a long history of language diversity in the NWT, implementing the spirit and intent of the *OLA* has been challenging. The most urgent challenge for governments and citizens continues to be preservation and enhancement of the NWT's indigenous Aboriginal languages in the face of significant multi-generational language loss and the growing dominance of English in all aspects of daily life. In keeping with language needs, a second challenge for the government has been to define and provide a reasonable level of language services to the Aboriginal and francophone communities. These key issues have been addressed throughout the report.

In keeping with language needs, a second challenge for the government has been to define and provide a reasonable level of language services to the Aboriginal and francophone communities.

The Review Process

To fulfill its legal obligations under section 29 of the *OLA*, the Legislative Assembly established the following terms of reference for the five-member Special Committee:

- Review the provisions and operation of the *Official Languages Act*
- Determine whether the objectives of the *Act*, as stated in the preamble, have been met
- Determine whether specific provisions of the *Act* have been effective
- Review the overall implementation of the *Act* by government departments and agencies
- Determine the extent to which the public understands the *Act* and individual language rights

- Evaluate the specific needs of each of the official languages
- Examine the role of the Languages Commissioner
- Review and comment on other relevant language legislation, policies, and programming.

The Assembly appointed a Minister to the Committee to ensure a close link with Cabinet during the review process.

While carrying out its work, the Special Committee was instructed to:

- Respect the right of all official language communities to use their language during the review
- Ensure an open and public review process
- Consult each of the official language communities
- Ensure that elders participate fully in the review process
- Propose amendments to the *Official Languages Act* within the term of the current Assembly.

The Special Committee believes that it has fulfilled all of its assigned responsibilities according to the criteria established by the Legislative Assembly.

Getting Organized

The Special Committee began its work by hiring staff, setting up an office, and preparing a work plan. Core staff consisted of a Committee Coordinator and a Manager for Information and Research. Contract researchers, meeting facilitators, writers, and editors were retained on an as-needed basis throughout the review process. The Office of the Clerk of the Legislative Assembly provided ongoing support and assistance.

The Committee's early work included:

- Gathering and reviewing all documents relating to NWT language initiatives
- Conducting and compiling a comparative analysis of international, national, provincial and territorial legislation
- Exploring international, national, and territorial language revitalization activities and issues
- Compiling data on the current condition of the NWT's official languages
- Identifying key issue statements for public consultation
- Planning the first territorial languages assembly
- Planning for community consultations and public hearings
- Developing an ongoing communications plan
- Establishing a process of accountability between staff and the Committee.

The Committee's initial work occurred during the period June to September 2001. By September, the Committee had gathered the background information and developed the framework required to begin a full process of research and public consultation.

Conducting Research

The Special Committee carried out a research program that included reviewing existing literature, learning from other governments, conducting original research, and commissioning special studies.

Reviewing Existing Literature

The Special Committee reviewed the literature on the following topics, with a particular focus on minority and indigenous languages:

- The value of language and language diversity
- The theory of language shift
- Language rights and legislation
- Language revitalization theory and practice
- Language education.

In addition, the Committee reviewed:

- Official languages legislation from each of the provinces and territories of Canada
- Various pieces of NWT legislation with language provisions
- A variety of language plans and reports from across Canada
- All available NWT documents relating to language policy and practice
- Alternative models of French language service delivery in Canada.

This information is presented and analyzed in this report in accordance with its relevance to the NWT language situation.

Attending the Roundtable on Language and Governance

Three members of the Special Committee attended the Roundtable on Language and Governance in Wales in November 2001, accompanied by the Committee Coordinator and the Clerk of the Legislative Assembly. During the visit, the members were able to:

- Examine the impact of language governance initiatives
- Visit schools and non-profit organizations involved with languages
- Meet with staff of the Welsh Language Board to discuss shared language issues and learn about successful initiatives.

The Roundtable brought together participants from Wales, Scotland, England, Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland, as well as Canada, for discussions on indigenous languages, their status, and the scope and success of various language revitalization initiatives. Committee members also had the opportunity to compare legislative and institutional frameworks and to assess language policies and programs in other jurisdictions. Members were particularly interested in the structure and operation of the Welsh Language Board. Mr. Nitah, Chair of the Special Committee, had the opportunity to speak to the roundtable delegates and he "set out the challenge facing the 9 official Aboriginal languages in the Northwest Territories" (*Llywodraeth Cynulliad Cymru*/ Welsh Assembly Government, 2001, p. 9).

Gathering Information on GNWT Services

The Special Committee developed and administered two questionnaires to gather information on the policies and practices of GNWT departments relating to language programs and services. The first questionnaire was developed specifically for the Department of Education, Culture and Employment (ECE). By policy, ECE is responsible for the coordination of official languages programs and services planning and implementation and for official language instruction in the NWT school system. This questionnaire focused on the following topics:

- The role of the *Canada-NWT Cooperation Agreement for French and Aboriginal Languages in the NWT* (the Cooperation Agreement or the Agreement) in supporting officials languages initiatives
- Implementation of the *Official Languages Policy* and *Official Languages Guidelines Manual*
- Coordination of official languages services throughout the GNWT
- Training and certification of interpreter/translators
- The role of literacy programming and language promotion
- Information and statistics regarding Aboriginal language programming in the schools.

The second questionnaire was developed for all GNWT departments and the boards and agencies listed in Schedule 1 of the GNWT *Official Languages Policy* (1997a). It was designed to gather the following types of information:

- The amount and distribution of language service funding
- Language service staffing
- Record keeping regarding the demand for and provision of language services
- Production of official language materials
- Departmental language policies and implementation plans
- Contact with the Office of the Languages Commissioner
- The effectiveness of the provisions of the *Official Languages Act*.

The data and findings from these questionnaires have been incorporated into this report.

Commissioning Special Studies

To address its need for additional, specialized, and objective research and advice, the Special Committee commissioned studies regarding:

- The Office of the Languages Commissioner (Tompkins and Associates, 2002)
- Aboriginal languages within the education system (Colbourne, 2002)
- Aboriginal language rights in Canada and language and cultural provisions in land claims and self-government agreements (Dupuis, 2002)
- Michif Language and the Métis in the NWT (Harnum, 2002).

The findings from these studies form part of this report.

Encouraging Dialogue and Facilitating Public Input

The Special Committee placed a high priority on keeping the public, government departments and agencies, and language communities informed of its activities, as a basis for dialogue throughout the review. The Committee's public awareness work included individual and group meetings; newspaper, radio, and television advertising; and posters, brochures, and a website.

Some of the specific communication activities of the Committee have included:

- Meeting with some of the Deputy Ministers to discuss the review process
- Making a presentation to the Dene National Assembly in July 2001, a second presentation to the Dene leadership in November 2001, and a presentation of the Progress Report (SCOL, 2002b) to the Dene National Assembly in July 2002
- Meeting with officials from the Department of Canadian Heritage in Ottawa
- Developing and maintaining a website
- Preparing a slide presentation on key language issues
- Contracting local language coordinators to prepare for community visits, ensure a high level of attendance, and assist elders' participation
- Mailing multilingual brochures to all households prior to community visits
- Sending personalized letters of invitation to key language organizations prior to community visits and public hearings along with copies of a summary of the community meetings
- Utilizing interpreters at community and territorial meetings.

To ensure an open and public review process, the Special Committee also hosted a number of public consultation activities, including two territorial languages assemblies, public hearings, and community meetings in each of the language regions of the NWT. (See Appendix C: Schedule of Public Consultations) These forums provided essential and invaluable information and direction to the Committee in its formative stages and for its final recommendations.

Hosting the First Territorial Languages Assembly

In October 2001, approximately sixty people from the Aboriginal and French language communities attended a one-day Assembly in Yellowknife to meet with the Special Committee. Three delegates were chosen by each of the official language communities. The Advisory Committee for the Office of the Languages Commissioner was also represented. During this meeting, presentations were made regarding:

- Language rights under the *Official Languages Act*
- The condition of the NWT languages
- GNWT language services
- Language revitalization practices in other jurisdictions
- An overview of the consultation process.

The Special Committee asked for preliminary comments and advice from the delegates on key language issues, the proposed consultation methods, and the communications plan. Based on this meeting, the Special Committee modified the information and materials that it would present to communities and confirmed its objective of traveling to at least one large and one small community in each language region.

Listening to Community Concerns

As committed to at the Languages Assembly, a cornerstone of the Special Committee's consultation process was the community meetings. Over the period October 2001 through September 2002, the Committee held meetings in:

Aklavik
Délı̨ne
Fort Good Hope
Fort McPherson
Fort Providence
Fort Resolution
Fort Simpson
Fort Smith
Hay River
Holman
Inuvik
K'átł'odeeche Dene Reserve
Łútsëlk'e
Tsiigehtchic
Tuktoyaktuk
Wha Ti
Yellowknife

In total, approximately 350 people, including about 100 elders, attended these meetings. While in the communities, Committee members and staff visited a number of school classrooms, day-care centres, and cultural centres to get a better sense of the type and nature of language activities taking place throughout the NWT.

Holding Public Hearings

The Special Committee held formal public hearings regarding the *Official Languages Act* at the Legislative Assembly in Yellowknife on March 26th and 27th, 2002. Prior to these hearings, letters were sent out to a wide range of agencies with an interest in languages, inviting them to appear before the committee. The following individuals and organizational representatives made presentations at the hearings:

- Native Communications Society of the Northwest Territories,
  Sabet Biscaye, Executive Director
- Office of the Languages Commissioner of the NWT, Fibbie Tatti (2000-2004)
- La Fédération Franco-TéNOise, Fernand Denault, President
- Deh Cho First Nations, Gerald Antoine
- Association Franco-Culturelle de Yellowknife, Michel Lefebvre
- Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages (Canada)
  (by video conference), Dr. Dyane Adam
- The Honourable Nick Sibbeston, Senator
- Akaitcho Territory Government, Sabet Biscaye, Chipewyan Language Coordinator
- Office of the Languages Commissioner of the NWT, Betty Harnum (1992-1996)
- Office of the Languages Commissioner of the NWT, Judi Tutcho (1996-2000)
- NWT Literacy Council, Katherine Peterson, President

The following written submissions were received by the Special Committee:

- The Honourable Justice J.E. Richard, Senior Judge, Supreme Court of the NWT
- The South Slave Métis Tribal Council & the NWT Métis Cultural Institute
- The Fédération des communautés francophones et acadienne du Canada (FCFA).

Tabling a Progress Report

In June 2002, the Special Committee tabled the document *One Land, Many Voices: Progress Report on the Review of the Official Languages Act*. Copies of this document were then circulated to all of the language communities, government departments, other language stakeholders, and the media. This document presented an overview of the Committee's research to date and a set of strategic directions for change that included:

- Acknowledging, in the *OLA* preamble, the role and responsibility of language communities in the preservation of their own languages, as a shared responsibility
- Revising the *OLA* to increase its scope, provide clearer accountability, clarify the role of the Languages Commissioner, use Aboriginal terminology, and clarify language status

- Strengthening the *OLA* through the use of regulations and enhanced policies
- Strengthening the delivery of Aboriginal language education programming through amendments to the *Education Act* (1995) and other policy initiatives
- Consolidating consistent multi-year funding arrangements
- Improving French and Aboriginal language service delivery, and increasing GNWT accountability
- Strengthening intergovernmental linkages between the GNWT and language communities with respect to language and culture, through the use of language boards or other means
- Increasing functional use of the French and Aboriginal languages at the community and regional levels through human resource development, language research and development, and language promotion initiatives.

All stakeholders and citizens were invited to comment on the general research and the strategic directions. A few agencies forwarded formal responses to the progress report and these comments were incorporated into this final report and recommendations. The progress report was also presented for discussion at the Second Territorial Languages Assembly.

Hosting the Second Territorial Languages Assembly

The Special Committee hosted a second territorial languages assembly in early October 2002, on the Hay River (K'átł'odeeche) Dene Reserve. Forty delegates from the Aboriginal and French language communities attended, although the French language delegates left the gathering on the morning of the first day after reading a prepared text criticizing the work of the Committee. Over the course of two days, the Aboriginal language delegates reviewed the strategic directions from the Special Committee's progress report. These directions received general support, with modification and elaboration, and have been carried forward into this report.

Drafting the Final Report

The final report was drafted over the period July 2002 through January 2003, and has undergone extensive formative review and revision by the project team and the Special Committee. The Special Committee reviewed each chapter in draft form and provided advice and direction regarding further research, language priorities, options for change, and the presentation and wording of recommendations.

Review Limitations

In spite of the Special Committee's effort to conduct an objective and thorough review, some errors, omissions, and deficiencies may be found in the report. The Special Committee acknowledges that language shift, language revitalization, and language rights are complex and sensitive issues and that this report may not address these issues or reflect all perspectives to

MICHEL LEFEBVRE

Michel Lefebvre from the Association Franco-Culturelle de Yellowknife presenting at the public hearings in Yellowknife, March 2002.

everyone's satisfaction. The Committee focused its research on common language themes and limited its discussion of these themes to meet the purpose of this report with reasonable economy.

In order to further ensure the accuracy and validity of the information in the report and reasonably assure itself of the study's comprehensiveness, the Special Committee had chapters 2 through 6 reviewed in final draft form by content experts. The Special Committee consulted with the Law Clerk of the Legislative Assembly on relevant legal matters. Where warranted, final revisions were made to reflect current language theories and practices and provide greater clarity. However, final decisions regarding the content and recommendations in the report were made by, and are the responsibility of, the project team and Special Committee.

The Special Committee regrets that it was not able to access 2001 Aboriginal language data from Census Canada in time to include it in this report; so the NWT language data presented is primarily from the 1996 Census. For this reason, the report includes recommendations relating to the timing of further assessments and the potential role of the Bureau of Statistics in maintaining and updating language data, including 2001 Census Canada data. The Committee is confident, however, that the 2001 data will not diminish its overall findings and recommendations, and, in fact, may indicate that intensified protection and revitalization activities, including increased investment, are increasingly imperative.

Language Concepts and Definitions

In most instances where special terms or abbreviations have been introduced in this report, a brief explanation is provided. However, to assist the reader in a more complete understanding of the issues discussed, a working definition of key terms is presented below.

Education Act: Unless otherwise noted in the text, the term *Education Act* and *Education Act (1996)* refers to the Northwest Territories' Act entitled *Consolidation of Education Act R.S.N.W.T. 1995,c.28 In force July 1, 1996; SI-003-96.*

Language Community: The Barcelona Declaration defines this term as "any human society established historically in a particular territorial space, whether this space be recognized or not, which identifies itself as a people and has developed a common language as a natural means of communication and cultural cohesion between its members" (Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights, 1996, p. 3). For the general purposes of this report, those people who identify themselves with and have a historical attachment to any one of our official languages are referred to as a language community.

Language Enhancement and Language Development: These terms are used in a similar fashion to language revitalization, but refer only to actions and processes, not to a goal. 'Language enhancement' generally refers to any measures taken to promote or increase language use; 'language development' generally refers to a structured process of revitalization.

Language Fluency: This term means "the features which give speech the qualities of being natural and normal, including native-like use of pausing, rhythm, intonation, stress, rate of speaking, and use of interjections and interruptions.... In second and foreign language teaching, fluency describes a level of proficiency in communications, which includes:

a. the ability to produce written and/or spoken language with ease

b. the ability to speak with a good but not necessarily perfect command of intonation, vocabulary, and grammar

c. the ability to communicate ideas effectively

d. the ability to produce continuous speech without causing comprehension difficulties or a breakdown in communications." (Richards, Platt & Platt, 1992, p. 141)

Language Preservation: This term refers primarily to the steps taken to record, document, and standardize a language while its fluent speakers are still alive. In this sense, it is often one of the early and core steps in language revitalization. Language preservation can also involve terminology development that allows a language to adapt to contemporary situations.

Language Revitalization: This term refers to "the goal of language being used in the home and neighbourhood as a tool of inter-generational communication" (Crystal, 2000, p. 130). For the purposes of this report, language revitalization also refers to the actions that might be undertaken to meet this goal. In the NWT context, language revitalization has also been defined as a process "to breathe new life into a language — to have it grow and expand" (Crosscurrent Associates, 1999b, p. 3).

Language Territory/Region/Homeland: These terms refer to the primary geographic area in which a particular language community lives, as well as "the social and functional space vital to the full development of the language" (Universal Declaration on Linguistic Rights, 1996, p. 3). 'Language homeland' refers specifically to the traditional land use areas of the NWT Aboriginal language communities, as defined through current and pending land claims and self-government agreements.

Linguistics: This term refers to "the study of language as a system of communication" (Richards, Platt & Platt, p. 215). The field of linguistics now includes specialized disciplines such as anthropological linguistics, psycholinguistics, and sociolinguistics.

Language Literacy: For the purposes of this report, this term refers simply to "the ability to read and write in a language" (ibid., p. 216).

Official Languages Act: Unless otherwise noted in the text, this term *Official Languages Act*, *Official Languages Act* (1990), and *OLA* refers to the Northwest Territories' Act entitled *Consolidation of Official Languages Act R.S. N.W.T. 1988, c.0-1.*

Orthography: This term refers to the correct or standard spelling of an alphabetic (or sound-based) writing system. It is not used in conjunction with the other two main writing systems: syllabic (syllable-based) or ideographic (word-based) (ibid., pp. 259, 409). All of the NWT's official languages utilize the Roman orthography, rooted in the Latin alphabet system. The Dene and Inuit languages, to varying degrees, also utilize a syllabic system.

Sociolinguistics: This term refers to "the study of language in relation to social factors; that is, social class, educational level and type of education, age, sex, ethnic origin, etc" (ibid., p. 339).

Final Report: Overview and Organization

The final report has been divided into eight chapters:

- Chapter 1 introduces the *OLA* review.
- Chapter 2 addresses the value of our French and Aboriginal languages — and of language diversity generally — to the social, environmental, and economic well-being of our society.
- Chapter 3 provides a historical overview of language policy in Canada and the NWT, with a particular focus on the impact of repressive Aboriginal language policies and suppression of French language rights. This chapter also reviews the resurgence of the French and Aboriginal language communities in the latter half of the 20th century and the development of our current NWT official languages legislation and policies.

- Chapter 4 assesses the current condition, and obvious decline, of our official languages, with particular emphasis on our indigenous languages.
- Chapter 5 provides an overview of international and national language revitalization theory and practice, and leads to the formation of a language revitalization framework for the NWT.
- Chapter 6 includes a detailed presentation and analysis of official languages legislation, management structures, and program/service delivery systems in the NWT, with a particular focus on GNWT responsibilities and accountability.
- Chapter 7 presents the range of options that were considered by the Special Committee based on its overall research and consultations.
- Chapter 8 contains a shared vision for language revitalization in the NWT, a set of recommendations to strengthen official languages and maintain language diversity, and an implementation and investment schedule.

Together, these chapters provide the rationale and direction for positive change and fulfill the terms of reference established by the Legislative Assembly for the Special Committee.

CHAPTER 2

THE VALUE OF OUR OFFICIAL LANGUAGES TO A HEALTHY SUSTAINABLE SOCIETY

> *If language is tied to culture, and culture is tied to the land, the community, and the family, then perhaps saving Inuvialuktun adds to the overall healthy functioning within Inuvialuit society. Language loss can destroy a sense of self-worth, limiting human potential and complicating efforts to solve other problems, such as poverty, family breakdown, school failure, and substance abuse. After all, language death does not happen in privileged communities. It happens to the dispossessed and disempowered, people who most need their cultural resources to survive. Saving the language may not be the number one priority but doing so may very well contribute to the solution of other pressing issues.*
>
> *(Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, 1999, p. 2)*

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to reflect on the value of language and cultural diversity to our northern society, draw greater attention to this value, and build the case to increase appreciation of and investment in those of our official languages that are declining in use. More specifically, the Special Committee is concerned that not enough citizens see the value of our official Aboriginal languages and French to our northern society. In some cases, through our actions or our lack of action, we may be undervaluing or devaluing these languages, to the detriment of our society as a whole. This chapter presents a rationale, from various perspectives, about the need to acknowledge and elevate the value of these languages. It then concludes with observations and findings regarding the steps we need to take to accomplish this goal.

The Special Committee acknowledges that the challenges associated with trying to develop and maintain a thriving multilingual territory within our contemporary society may appear overwhelming. It is therefore reasonable that the following questions be asked and addressed in this chapter:

- Why is it so important that we protect and preserve all of the official languages of the NWT?
- What are the benefits of language diversity to our society, particularly with the trend toward a global economy and the overwhelming influence of Western culture and the English language?
- Is it reasonable to consider allocating additional funding and resources to language initiatives when it may mean less funding for other types of programs and services?

This chapter focuses on a resource-based approach to language preservation and enhancement, rather than on language rights per se, which will be addressed in a subsequent chapter. A rights-based approach to language revitalization is an essential and complementary element, but can also be limiting if people participate in language initiatives because they have to, rather than because they see the importance of these initiatives and want to contribute in a meaningful way.

In developing a resource-based rationale of the value of languages, the Special Committee has gathered and reviewed the evidence of northern, national, and international experts and language activists, as documented in academic texts and language reports. The Committee has also heard directly from the people of the Northwest Territories. Through this work, the Committee has identified three major areas in our society where our official languages have ongoing value and potential as a resource for all citizens:

- Language as a social and cultural resource
- Language as an environmental and scientific resource
- Language as an economic resource.

These three areas are explored in more detail below.

Language as a Social and Cultural Resource

The Special Committee believes that our official languages, particularly our Aboriginal languages, have immediate value as socio-cultural resources in the following three areas: maintaining individual and cultural identity and social well-being; maintaining our collective history; and maintaining essential cultural diversity.

Maintaining Individual and Cultural Identity and Social Well-being

> *A language long associated with the culture is best able to express, most easily, most exactly, most richly, with more appropriate overtones, the concerns, artifacts, values, and interests of that culture. (Fishman, 1996, p. 2)*

> *Language is the principal tool as we construct our identities as individuals and as members of a community. (Official Languages Commissioner of Canada, 2002, March, p. 2)*

> *My first language is my mother tongue,* ***Tlı̨chǫ Yatıı****, the Dogrib language. I have always spoken this language since I first learned to speak. Because of being fluent in my language I know my identity as a Dene person and I know and understand my ancestors' culture and traditions. (Rosa Mantla quoted in Crosscurrent Associates, 1999, p. 6)*

> *Aboriginal people were not recognized as human beings… our ways, language, values, principles and spirituality were not considered significant. (Department of Health and Social Services, 2002, p. 5)*

Through its research and community consultations, the Special Committee has learned that language is a fundamental and core element of personal and cultural identity. The historic suppression and devaluing of the Aboriginal languages, through coercion and indifference, has contributed to a general erosion of culture, loss of identity, and social dislocation among Aboriginal groups within the NWT. This situation is not unique to the NWT, but has been documented throughout Canada (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996). Aboriginal people have strongly voiced this perspective, individually and through their respective organizations, since the early 1970s, when they began to firmly re-establish and reassert their political, social, and cultural identity within Canadian society. The Official Languages Act (1969) reaffirms our government's appreciation of this important relationship between language and culture in its preamble, with the statement: "Believing that the legal protection of languages will assist in preserving the culture of the people as expressed through their language."

The National Indian Brotherhood policy paper, *Indian Control of Indian Education* (1972), prepared in response to the glaring inadequacies of mainstream schooling for First Nations children, was among the first to link Aboriginal language, culture, and well-being. This policy paper stated that " … [language] is a dynamic force which shapes the way a man [sic] looks at the world, his thinking about the world and his philosophy of life. Knowing his maternal language helps a man to know himself; being proud of his language helps a man to be proud of himself" (p. 15). The paper goes on to say:

> *Inferiority, alienation, rejection, hostility, depression, frustration, are some of the personal adjustment problems which characterize the Indian child's experience with integration. These are also factors in the academic failure of Indian children in integrated schools. Indian children will continue to be strangers in Canadian classrooms until the curriculum recognizes Indian customs and values, Indian languages, and the contributions which the Indian people have made to Canadian history.... Non-Indians must be ready to recognize the value of another way of life; to learn about Indian history, customs, and language; and to modify, if necessary, some of their own ideas and practices. (p. 25)*

In the NWT, the Task Force on Aboriginal Languages (1986) report stated that:

> *… the words of a language are just the surface reflection of a unique view of the world, subtly created both by the language and the society through which the language is maintained and developed. It is a view of the world which can't be fully translated, depending for its maintenance on the language which creates and expresses it. This view of the world both forms the centre of one's own sense of self as well as the common social understanding of a group of people. (p. 18)*

This concept was concretely summarized by one of the participants in the Task Force's consultation meetings: "[language] gives me backbone, like something inside of me that makes me feel very secure with me. And you only feel that backbone because you know where you come from, who you are.... It's the core of being a person, of being a Dene" (Task Force on Aboriginal Languages, 1986, p. 17).

In the Government of Canada's (1990) *Fourth Report of the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs, You Took My Talk: Aboriginal Literacy and Empowerment*, an entire chapter is devoted to the relationship between self-esteem and language. According to this report, "Witnesses also maintained that incorporating native content specific to the local area in school curriculum ... was necessary to instil pride in native youth, not only as indigenous people but also as members of their specific nation and culture" (p. 30). This perspective was supported by the Saskatchewan Indian Institute of Technologies's (1992) document *Literature Review: Aboriginal Mother Tongue Issues* prepared on behalf of Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada. The section entitled "Relationship to Self-Esteem", stated that, "The importance to the Native child of his Aboriginal language and culture being officially acknowledged in the school has shown in increased self-esteem, as well as benefits to academic achievement and enhanced thought processes, where these programs are established" (p. 35).

The Assembly of First Nations' (1991) report *Toward a Rebirth of First Nations Languages* stated that, "Languages must be reintegrated back into community and family life as an integral part of the healing process. Fundamental to this process is pride in culture and community identity" (p. ii). This sentiment was echoed in the research of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, which noted that, "The importance of Aboriginal languages is recognized by most Aboriginal people. Language is seen as a key to cultural survival, continuity with the past, and social integration" (Norton & Fettes, 1994, p. 2).

More recently, many of the language plans that were prepared by the Aboriginal language communities in the NWT make reference to the interrelationship between language, culture, identity, and well-being. For example, the *Final Report, Deh Cho Language Plan* notes that the "generational enculturing of shame through mission schools and current subliminal messages about indigenous peoples in the media and from insensitive teachers results in many young parents being ashamed to use their language and not using it with their children" (Deh Cho First Nations, 1999, p. 3). The *Dinjii Zhuh Ginjik Hatr'agoodinjih Sro': Revised Draft* notes that "The revitalization of Dinjii Zju' Ginjik will maintain the link between those alive today and the knowledge of their ancestors. It will allow the Gwich'in to maintain their unique identity within the Canadian society and with the emerging global culture. Ultimately, it will restore a sense of pride and self-worth in the Gwich'in people that is vital to the success of any community building project" (Gwich'in Tribal Council, 1999, p. 2).

Francophones in the Northwest Territories have expressed a similar, deep attachment to their language. In a formal presentation to the Special Committee, representatives of the francophone community stated that:

> *French Canadians have contributed greatly to the development of the Northwest Territories since 1786. They have been born here, they have worked here, they have dreamed here, and they have died here. Rarely have they chosen to give up their culture, to deprive their children of their ancestral heritage, and to deliberately exclude French from their everyday life. (Fédération Franco-TéNOise, 2002, p. 9)*

Francophones in the Northwest Territories have expressed a similar, deep attachment to their language.

The importance of maintaining this close link between language and culture is fully supported by contemporary linguists. In his book *Language Death*, David Crystal (2000), a foremost expert on languages, listed the five most important reasons for saving endangered languages. One of these reasons is simply "because languages express identity." Crystal notes that language is one of the most critical components of cultural expression: "A more appropriate analogy, accordingly, is to talk about cultural identity in terms of the self-expression of a people, however this is manifested. Rituals, music, painting, crafts, and other forms of behaviour all play their part; but language plays the biggest part of all." He goes on to say that: "Ultimately, to make sense of a community's identity, we need to look at its language" (Crystal, 2000, p. 39).

Clearly, if language is a fundamental and core component of culture, and if loss of culture (particularly loss through coercion, indifference, or shame) affects one's sense of identity and self-esteem, then language revitalization can be seen as an individually and community empowering activity that can effectively contribute to social well being. Recently, this position was strongly voiced by NWT residents. In 2000, the Government of the Northwest Territories initiated work on a Social Agenda to address our ongoing social problems so that individuals, families, and communities could benefit fully from, and not be overwhelmed by, current and pending economic development and self-government initiatives. One of the principal messages from the initial conference held to create this Agenda was that many of the social problems among Aboriginal people in the north stem from a history of oppression, loss, and trauma. Conference participants emphasized that a wholistic approach to wellness and healing that includes language and cultural revitalization is essential (Department of Health and Social Services, 2002, pp. 5-16).

From this perspective, support for language and cultural revitalization can be viewed as an important and powerful means to recognize past injustices and restore social balance and harmony within our society, particularly in the relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples. According to Joseph Magnet in *Official Languages of Canada: Perspectives from Law Policy and the Future*, "Linguistic [and social] crisis thrives on intolerance. Generally speaking, Canadian history indicates that firm and decisive gestures of generosity to linguistic minorities … are appropriate policy responses to keep peace between Canada's linguistic communities" (Magnet, 1995, p. 67). However, linguistic tolerance has not been a constant characteristic of Canadian or northern society. The openly assimilative policies of the Canadian government toward Aboriginal peoples (see Chapter 3) are evidence of that fact. As well, francophone Canadians, although appearing to have considerable authority and influence with respect to language issues in Quebec and within the federal government, have had to fight very hard since Confederation to overcome negative attitudes toward the French language and culture within federal institutions, among the English speaking elite within Quebec, and within Canada as a whole (Mackey, 1998, p. 28-34). Northern francophones have stressed that current efforts to strengthen use of the French language are rooted in a history of cultural isolation and an ongoing desire to maintain and nourish the historic francophone identity within the NWT (Fédération Franco-TéNOise, 2002, p. 9).

Past theories of social harmony were based on the premise that differences of language, ethnicity, and religion were counter-productive to building a nation — this theory formed the basis for early British and English-Canadian efforts to assimilate French and Aboriginal societies. However, "this theory underestimated the attachment of religious, ethnic, and linguistic groups to their communities, and the deep instinct of minority populations for collective self-preservation" (Magnet, 1995, p. 3). Collective self-preservation is of critical importance in the Northwest Territories when we consider that it is one of only a few homelands in the world for our indigenous Aboriginal languages and the sole homeland for the North Slavey and Dogrib languages. Our territory is one of the few places on earth for many of our people to maintain their own special and essential languages and cultures, and, by extension, their collective identity and well-being as a people.

Simply put, meaningful support for language maintenance and revitalization allows all of our diverse peoples to establish, practice, and honour their unique cultural identities. Meaningful support acknowledges and respects our 'deep instinct' for collective preservation. It allows individuals, families, and communities to feel good about who they are as a people and interact and build relationships with other peoples from a place of self-worth, security and pride — rather than from a place of disconnection, loss, frustration, or shame. Our official languages effectively become an important northern resource for supporting and maintaining individual self-esteem, cultural identity and well-being, and social harmony among all of our diverse cultures.

Maintaining Our Collective History

Another important social function of our languages is to maintain our northern history. During the community meetings for the review of the *Official Languages Act*, many Aboriginal people stated that a great deal of history is being lost as elders pass away before having the opportunity to share and document their knowledge. Similar concerns were voiced during the community meetings associated with the Task Force on Aboriginal Languages in 1986.

Our society generally places great emphasis on the value of history for succeeding generations. We teach provincial, Canadian, and European history as core subjects in our schools, based on historical records generated and meticulously collected and preserved for thousands of years. We have museum and heritage societies in most communities across Canada, history channels on television, history departments in most universities, art restoration experts, anthropologists, and massive library and archival collections that utilize the most modern temperature and humidity control technology available. We make this type of effort because we believe that maintaining and learning from our history is essential to a thorough understanding of our current reality and to making informed and wise decisions about the future.

In the Northwest Territories, much of our collective history is maintained within our official Aboriginal languages and is still highly dependent on the oral tradition, so the ongoing use of these languages is essential to the preservation of this history.

> *The Aboriginal Languages of the NWT have not been well documented in writing, so the people who speak these languages are the last source of information. Elders are often called 'walking dictionaries', because very few written resources exist. For those of us who speak languages for which dictionaries, encyclopaedias, reference books, literature and an enormous amount of written materials exist, it is hard to imagine not being able to go to a book to find ... detailed information on any topic. (Office of the Languages Commissioner of the NWT, 1993, p. 8)*

We should therefore be extremely concerned as a society that significant portions of our collective territorial history are being lost as our official Aboriginal languages decline in usage and the speakers of these languages age and pass on. "There is a loss of connection to each other, to place and land because there is no communication and sharing ... collective family knowledge is lost and our collective cultural story is not widely known" (Department of Health and Social Services, 2002, p. 5).

- As we lose our 'collective cultural story', we lose valuable information about the land in which we live. We lose the traditional names of landmarks and historic sites, many of which have important stories attached to them; knowledge of historic events such as migrations, wars, treaties, prophets, and natural disasters; and stories and legends that contain historical information, environmental understandings, and spiritual teachings. Efforts to maintain and share this history are being made by many Aboriginal organizations,

> such as Yamózha Kų́ę́ (formerly the Dene Cultural Institute); the Gwich'in Cultural Institute; Whaèhdǫǫ̀ Nàowoò Kǫ̀ (Traditional Knowledge Working Group) of the Dogrib Treaty 11 Council; and individual First Nation and Métis governments — with the support of the Department of Education, Culture and Employment's (ECE) Culture, Heritage and Languages Division. However, the needs in this area are enormous — comparable to the task of producing an entire library, as the above quote from the Office of the Languages Commissioner of the NWT (1993) makes clear.

Elements of our history are even captured in the structure and vocabularies of the languages themselves, because a "language encapsulates its speakers' history" (Crystal, 2000, p. 41). For example, the K'átł'odeeche dialect of South Slavey uses certain words that are closer to Chipewyan than to South Slavey: such as *dendi* for moose, which is closer to the Chipewyan word *denie*, rather than the Slavey word *golǫ*. This similarity in terminology reflects an historic relationship between the K'átł'odeeche people and the Chipewyan people, distinct from other South Slavey communities. Dialect differences among other Aboriginal groups in the NWT often reflect special historical relationships, family connections, land use, and migrations (in other words, a somewhat different cultural story), which is one reason why dialects are so important to the people who use them.

As another example, some of the Dene languages capture the historic influence of the early French traders (and the fur trade generally) on the Dene way of life by the fact there are a significant number of 'borrowed' French words integrated into these languages. Many of these words have to do with trading and trade goods. Chipewyan examples include words such as *mahsi* (*merci* / thank you), *ledí* (*le thé* / tea), *lalén* (*la laine* / wool), *lígafi* (*le café* / coffee), *límardú* (*le marteau* / hammer), and *súga* (*sucre* / sugar), among others (Office of the Languages Commissioner of the NWT, 1993; Biscaye, 2002).

A second of the five main reasons listed in *Language Death* for preserving languages is because "languages are repositories of history." As Crystal states, "The desire to know about our ancestry is a universal inclination — but it takes a language to satisfy it. And, once a language is lost, the links with our past are gone. We are, in effect, alone" (Crystal, 2000, p.40). We must therefore view all of our official languages as essential vessels for containing, carrying forward, and continuing to transmit our collective and shared history as a northern people.

Maintaining Diversity

Why do we need a protected areas strategy? To protect and maintain areas of land and water with special natural and cultural values, and to protect biodiversity.

(Northwest Territories Protected Areas Strategy Advisory Committee, 1999, p. 4)

Any reduction of language diversity diminishes the adaptational strength of our species because it lowers the pool of knowledge from which we can draw.

(Bernard, 1992, p. 82, as quoted in Crystal, 2000, p. 34)

SCOL member Michael McLeod, with special guests Elders Daniel Sonfrere and Rosie Albert at the Second Territorial Languages Assembly, Hay River (K'átl'odeeche) Dene Reserve, October 2002.

In 1999, the Government of the Northwest Territories and the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs signed the *Northwest Territories Protected Areas Strategy Advisory Committee: A Balanced Approach to Establishing Protected Areas in the Northwest Territories*. This agreement fulfilled Canada's international commitment to protect and maintain biodiversity within each of its regions. The principle of preserving ecological biodiversity is at the foundation of an international environmental initiative aimed at protecting areas of traditional, cultural, and religious significance; protecting distinct natural and cultural features of the landscape; maintaining ecosystems; and preserving species and genetic diversity (Northwest Territories Protected Areas Strategy Advisory Committee, 1999, p. 2).

This concept of ecological biodiversity, which has been adopted by the federal and territorial governments, is also providing a theoretical base in contemporary linguistics. Over the past decade, a number of linguists have adopted an ecological perspective and approach toward languages and have even coined a term for this approach: 'ecolinguistics' (Crystal, 2000, p. ix). This approach is consistent with the view that diversity is a fundamental characteristic of a sustainable natural world. It is well known that, in the natural world, uniformity is a threat to the long-term survival of a species. A number of linguists now contend that uniformity in thought may also hold the same danger. They assert that our current trend toward a global culture (which happens to be the culture of the most dominant nations), based on the premise that cultural uniformity is both inevitable and beneficial, is misconceived. There is a growing perception that, from an ecological perspective, maintaining language diversity is essential, because languages contribute to the sum total of human knowledge. Loss of language results in loss of knowledge, which diminishes our ability to understand fully and interact with the world (Crystal, 2001, pp. 33-34). As the world becomes more complex, the issues and problems that we have to address become more significant, increasing the imperative of having the widest possible range of information and knowledge to draw on for sound and enlightened decision-making.

In the NWT, the value of Aboriginal knowledge and perspectives (or worldviews) has been increasingly acknowledged. Aboriginal concepts of governance have helped shape our consensus style of government and the Dene Nation and other Aboriginal groups are working currently with elders to re-establish more traditional forms of governance, based on spiritual understandings of the relationships between peoples and the land. Aside from providing alternate concepts of governance, the Aboriginal languages can also impact the process of discussion and decision-making. For example, the South Slavey language, because it uses very few judgmental terms, tends to promote less discord during community and council meetings than English (Ka'a'gee Tu First Nation Council, personal communication with SCOL report writer, P. Redvers, December, 1998).

In the NWT, the value of Aboriginal knowledge and perspectives (or worldviews) has been increasingly acknowledged.

For the past few years, the Aboriginal worldview has bee successfully integrated into our social and justice programs, through healing and sentencing circles founded on the belief that a process of reconciliation promotes social harmony more effectively than judgment and punishment:

> *Aboriginal ways of doing justice are based on an entirely different paradigm than that of the Canadian justice system.... The 'state' is a foreign concept; justice depends upon the internal order and relations of a given society or community.... When deviations from the norm and conflicting interests break the harmony of aboriginal communities, the traditional way of responding is to do whatever is necessary to restore harmony.... Canadians might look to the application of an aboriginal justice paradigm to bring about the safe, secure and harmonious communities we all desire.*
> *(Sawatsky & Barnaby, 1992, pp. 91-92, 97)*

Non-Aboriginal people — including police, social workers, and judges — are often full participants in these healing and sentencing circles.

Some jurisdictions in Canada and the NWT have begun to utilize Aboriginal approaches to physical and mental health. For example, the addictions treatment program of the Nats'ejee K'e Treatment Centre on the K'átł'odeeche Dene Reserve (Hay River Reserve), which serves all residents of the NWT, is, by policy, rooted in traditional, wholistic, and spiritual concepts of health and wellness. The Deh Cho Health and Social Services Authority currently uses the services of a traditional healer and many Aboriginal people continue to seek traditional medicines and healers as an effective alternative to contemporary medicine. There is no reason why these traditional healers and healing practices should not become available as a resource for all northerners, not just for Aboriginal peoples.

In a series of workshops carried out by the Dene Cultural Institute and Native Women's Association for the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, a number of elders were asked to share how they were taught and what they know. "Instead of giving didactic [literal, academic] answers, the elders used both stories and short open-ended statements.... This was done to make the younger Dene think and to give us the social context of learning" (Lamothe & Cizek, 1993, p. 9). This way of learning is characterized as a "panoramic series of [seemingly] disjointed images" (p. 12) and requires the learner to be "attentive, observant, and thoughtful" (p. 11). Significantly, the elders said that to "understand the Dene words, one must experience the Dene way of life of the land.... The Dene system of education required experience and a process of becoming" (p.10). In effect, the proper sharing and use of traditional understandings and approaches to a wide variety of life issues — whether they be governance, justice, or health — is, to a great extent, dependent on the languages and the cultural context in which this knowledge and these approaches have evolved. Maintaining our traditional languages is therefore essential for traditional concepts and practices to be fully shared and incorporated into our contemporary society.

In summary, we must support the value of linguistic and cultural diversity within our society in the same way that we support the ecological diversity of our land. Our official languages legislation calls upon us to accept this value and challenges our will and ability to implement it.

Language as an Environmental and Scientific Resource: Utilizing Traditional Environmental Knowledge

The interest in indigenous systems is not merely academic. The lessons of traditional knowledge, especially of the ecological kind, have practical significance for the rest of the world. There is a growing line of thought … that we are moving in the new millennium toward different ways of seeing, perceiving, and doing, with a broader knowledge base than that allowed by modernist Western science. (Berkes, 1999, p. xi)

The rediscovery of eco-system-like concepts among traditional cultures in many parts of the world was an important stepping stone in the appreciation by ecologists of traditional holistic understandings of nature. (p. 57)

Many circumpolar peoples consider the relationship between humans and animals as one of collaborative reciprocity. … This relationship of reciprocity is very different from Western concepts of the use of natural resources. It is not possible to work toward mutual discussions of resource management without understanding the traditional view of many circumpolar people that animals are non-human persons. … The jargon of scientific studies is also difficult to translate conceptually into [Aboriginal] languages that do not recognize human/environment, subject/object, and cause-effect relationships in the same way that English does. (Kendrick, 2000, p. 16)

In 1988, the Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT) established the Working Group on Traditional Knowledge (TK). After an extensive process of consultation, the Working Group submitted its report in 1991 and defined traditional knowledge as:

> *… Knowledge that derives from, or is rooted in the traditional way of life of Aboriginal people. Traditional knowledge is the accumulated knowledge and understanding of the human place in relation to the universe. This encompasses spiritual relationships, relationships with the natural environment and the use of natural resources, relationships between people, and is reflected in language, social organizations, values, institutions, and laws. (Department of Culture and Communications, 1991, p. 13)*

Acknowledging the close connection between traditional knowledge and language, the Working Group made a number of recommendations calling for increased support for the Aboriginal languages of the NWT. In 1995, the GNWT's Executive Council formally approved eleven TK initiatives, one of which was language preservation. In 1997, the GNWT adopted a Traditional Knowledge Policy (Policy 52.06) that stated that the government "will incorporate traditional knowledge into government decisions and actions where appropriate." (Government of the Northwest Territories, 1997)

From 1989 to 1993, the Dene Cultural Institute (DCI; now Yamózha Kų́ę́) carried out a Traditional Dene Environmental Knowledge project in Fort Good Hope and Colville Lake. In its final report, DCI summarized the importance of traditional knowledge based on current literature and practices, noting that, "For many aboriginal peoples, TEK [traditional environmental knowledge] is at the heart of their cultural identity and remains a viable aspect of their way of life. For the rest of the world, apart from the ethical imperative of preserving cultural diversity, TEK is important for many tangible reasons" (Johnson & Ruttan, 1993, p. 17).

This report presented the following reasons why society should value traditional knowledge:

- TK provides us with new biological and ecological insights
- TK is relevant for contemporary resource management activities
- TK can be used for conservation education associated with the protected area concept
- TK can be used in the assessment of the viability of resource development projects
- TK is a valuable resource in environmental impact assessments
- The traditional beliefs of indigenous people contain values relevant to sustainable development
- TK is essential for the maintenance of a subsistence economy and economic endeavours that depend on renewable resources (p. 17).The Beverly-Qamanirjuaq Caribou Management Board was one of the first northern organizations to incorporate traditional knowledge into its work. Since its establishment in 1982, this organization has struggled to find a balance between Western scientific approaches and traditional knowledge perspectives, both of which are considered valid components of its research mandate. One of the main barriers acknowledged by the board is the difficulty in translating some key Aboriginal concepts regarding the natural world into English and the difficulty in translating some Western scientific concepts into the Aboriginal languages (Kendrick, 2000).

An internal TK Protocol document prepared by the Department of Resources, Wildlife and Economic Development (RWED) states that, " … it is critical that the researcher has access to a language translator, or even better, to be proficient in understanding both the oral and written language of the particular dialect." This approach is formally echoed by Dr. Fikret Berkes, a leading Canadian TK scholar, in *Sacred Ecology:*

> *Learning a foreign language may not be easy for a researcher who may not have the time or resources for such an undertaking. This does not preclude the possibility of carrying out work … but it makes care and caution in research even more important. Help may be obtained from bilingual members of the cultural group and from linguistic experts. (Berkes, 1999, p. 42)*

Significantly, this language barrier does not only apply to Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal communications. According to a report prepared for the West Kitikmeot/Slave Study Society, "One of the greatest obstacles to effective TK research recognized by DCI [Dene Cultural Institute] is the language barrier between aboriginal elders and youth" (Mark Stevenson

Research Group, 1997, p. 7). This intergenerational loss of language, and the concurrent loss of the ability to transmit important cultural information to youth, was of particular concern to elders during the Special Committee's community consultations and was an important concern of the Working Group on Traditional Knowledge.

The value of traditional knowledge has been formally acknowledged by the West Kitikmeot/Slave Study (WKSS) group, which was mandated to coordinate research regarding the impact of mining development in the West Kitikmeot and North Slave areas, and also by the Mackenzie Valley Environmental Impact Review Board (MVEIRB). The WKSS established a Traditional Knowledge Committee and a set of TK guidelines which were utilized in much of its research during the 1990s (Mark Stevenson Research Group, 1997). Among other things, the WKSS-funded research highlighted the value of traditional place names as indicators of bio-geographical knowledge:

> *Placenames that contain biological terms, especially fish and plants, and the associated oral narratives, seem to be indicators of locations with various resources — locations that are biodiverse (Legat, 2001, pp. 12-13).... The knowledge both of placenames and the associated habitat forms a basis for monitoring cumulative effects, particularly in the cultural and physical environment (ibid, Summary).*

The MVEIRB, under federal legislation, requires the use of TK in the formal environmental assessment process for all resource development projects in the NWT (Mackenzie Valley Environmental Impact Review Board, 2001). It recently created a traditional knowledge coordinator position.

Further, the Canadian Environmental Assessment Agency (CEAA) recently developed recommendations for improving current CEAA legislation. This agency stressed the value of traditional knowledge:

> *The indigenous or aboriginal peoples of our nation hold an immense store of valuable insight into the environmental systems of our natural and cultural surroundings. They are capable of providing insights that non-indigenous peoples cannot. This results from their extremely long history of traditional knowledge about the world, and from the fact that the way the traditional knowledge is formulated and used is dissimilar to the western ways of knowing. Neither way of understanding the world around us is inherently better or worse. But the two together can combine to provide a stronger foundation for assessing environmental impacts than can either knowledge base alone.*
> *(Canadian Environmental Assessment Agency, 2001)*

Traditional knowledge is presently recognized as an essential component of environmental research and resource management by Aboriginal peoples, governments, management boards, and federal and territorial regulatory agencies. Due to the close link between TK and language, preservation and maintenance of our official Aboriginal languages is therefore imperative if the environmental and ecological knowledge of the Aboriginal peoples of the NWT is to be fully utilized in environmental research and resource planning, and management activities.

Language as an Economic Resource Enhancing the Traditional Economy

> *Mr. Doan [Assistant Deputy Minister of Resources, Wildlife and Economic Development, GNWT] stated that the traditional economy includes trapping, wildlife harvesting, and arts and crafts. This sector of the economy is particularly important in the small communities, where harvesters play an important role in resource management — traditional lifestyles are being passed on to younger generations and traditional activities can provide income. (Ft. Simpson Tri-Council, 2002, p. 23)*

> *… the NWT can be the ideal destination for today's tourists, many of whom are interested in ecotourism, adventure, and cultural tourism … it has many aspects that are unique and that can set it apart. It is a land that is animated with wildlife, culture, history and legends … Its people are diverse with rich cultural traditions and lifestyles closely connected to the land. (Department of Resources, Wildlife and Economic Development, 2000, p. 3)*

Although the NWT's economy is becoming increasingly dominated by non-renewable resource development, one of the guiding principles of the government's economic strategy is to "Encourage economic diversity" (Economic Strategy Panel, 2000, p. 7). Two initiatives identified as being very important to the territorial economy are enhancement of the traditional economy and tourism development. In some instances, eco- and cultural tourism can overlap with and complement a traditional lifestyle.

The traditional economy of hunting, fishing, trapping, and gathering is rooted in a strong relationship with and understanding of the land. In particular, the spiritual relationships that Aboriginal people believe are essential to productive harvesting activities are imbedded in our northern languages. At the K'átł'odeeche meeting hosted by the Special Committee during this review of the *Official Languages Act*, an elder, Daniel Sonfrere, said, "Recently, I went out in the woods, and I never saw any tracks anywhere. The berries are no longer good, the water is disappearing, the animals are disappearing — we've got to look at these things — it's our land" (Special Committee on the Review of *Official Languages Act*, 2001 & 2002). Mr. Sonfrere's statement, which was translated from South Slavey, was based on the understanding that we must continue to harvest the land appropriately or it will no longer be able to provide for us (Raymond Sonfrere, personal communication with SCOL report writer, P. Redvers, May, 2002).

From this perspective, if we wish to maintain the traditional economy as an alternative or supplement to wage employment - and a source of natural, healthy foods — we must ensure that our harvesting activities are consistent with the teaching and understandings of the elders, as rooted in our ancestral languages. If we lose these languages, our ability to understand fully the nature of the relationship we have with the land, and its ability to support us, may be lost.

With respect to tourism, the government has been emphasizing recently the importance of developing unique tourism 'products'. A recent NWT tourism strategic planning document notes that "Aboriginal development corporations will likely take the lead role in the development of cultural tourism initiatives that concentrate on Aboriginal culture" (Department of Resources, Wildlife and Economic Development, 2000, p. 18). Considering that language has been identified as a fundamental component of culture, maintenance of the Aboriginal languages can only enhance our ability to offer cultural experiences that tourists cannot get elsewhere. This point was made in the 1996 review of the Canada-NWT Cooperation Agreement: "The development of cultural industries has indirectly benefited the north's tourism, arts and crafts and entertainment sectors in terms of increasing products and consumer interest in the NWT" (Lutra Associates Ltd., 1996, p. 38). The creative use of language within a tourism context, such as offering basic language lessons that help provide insight into the Aboriginal worldview, has yet to be explored. The history of the land as captured in traditional place names may also have value within a cultural tourism package. It is clear that from a contemporary cultural tourism perspective, diversity, rather than uniformity, should be viewed as beneficial.

Further, the existence of a vibrant northern francophone community, able to provide services to the public and to other businesses in French, increases the possibility of greater economic exchange between La Francophonie and the NWT, particularly in the area of tourism. This type of language advantage must not be underestimated.

Employment and Business Opportunities

> *Economically, the most significant impact associated with the last decade of language activities has been the creation of new jobs. Jobs based on Aboriginal language skills seem to have heightened the profile and value of these languages and of the persons who use them. (Lutra Associates Ltd., 1996, p. 31)*

> *A lack of qualified Cree instructors has hampered both our program and the schools in offering Cree language instruction in the South Slave. It has been difficult to attract younger native speakers to this field, as language specialist positions in the schools to date have been paid only at the Classroom Assistant rate, rather than as teachers. This is a strong signal to the language communities that Aboriginal languages such as Cree are not valued in NWT society as much as English or French. (South Slave Métis Tribal Council & NWT Métis Cultural Institute, 2002, p. 3)*

One of the largest employers in the Northwest Territories is the Government of the Northwest Territories, which currently employs approximately 3700 people. Along with the GNWT, the federal government, municipal governments, and Aboriginal governments are also major employers. Government jobs provide steady, meaningful work and income to a large number of people in the NWT, including many people who have migrated from southern Canada to find employment. Governments have a certain degree of control over the types of jobs they create, depending on their legal obligations and the program and service goals they establish.

For a period of time during the mid-1980s through the mid-1990s, meaningful career and business opportunities were available for Aboriginal language speakers and there appeared to be an active 'language economy'. The Lutra Associates Ltd. (1996) review of the Canada-NWT Cooperation Agreement cited a number of economic benefits from increased language funding at that time. These included:

- Full and part-time jobs with the GNWT as administrators, managers, linguists, trainers, paraphrasers, terminologists, interpreter/translators (I/Ts), and Aboriginal language instructors
- Full and part-time jobs with the media for Aboriginal communicators and broadcasters
- Contract work in the areas of language training, curriculum and resource development, terminology development, contract I/T services, and the production of goods and services
- Interpreter/translator and language instructor training (pp. 31-37).

By 1995, approximately 80 Aboriginal northerners had taken medical interpreter training and 52 were certified as legal I/Ts (pp. 33-35). Most of these were Inuit. As well, during the period 1983 through 1995, approximately 186 northern Aboriginal students graduated from the Teacher Education Program (after 1990 the Community Teacher Education Program), which was partially funded through official languages funding (p. 35), although this program did not focus exclusively on language or cultural instruction. At that time, the demand for skilled I/Ts and language instructors exceeded the supply. By the mid-1990s, 29 full-time jobs were created in the GNWT as a result of Frenchlanguage funding (p. 38) and bilingual bonuses for French and Aboriginal language speakers resulted in increased employment income for many northerners.

However, full-time career opportunities for Aboriginal interpreter/translators disappeared with the closing of the Language Bureau. Although some contractual opportunities are currently available for private interpreter/translators, both within the territorial and Aboriginal governments, there is no longer a clear and definitive career path, as there is for many other types of jobs within the civil service. As well, although there is a demand for proficient interpreter/translators in the areas of justice and health, no I/T training is currently available. Career paths relating to Aboriginal language use are not evident in the federal government departments based in the NWT and vary within Aboriginal governments. Opportunities that exist through languages funding provided to the Aboriginal language communities are generally project-based and short-term, rather than long-term career opportunities.

Dr. Dyane Adam, Commissioner of Official Languages presenting via videoconferencing at the public hearings in Yellowknife, March 2002.

Further, during the Special Committee on the Review of the *Official Languages Act* (SCOL) hearings, the Special Committee heard concerns about the lack of support, lack of resources, and lack of wage parity for Aboriginal language instructors. As noted by the South Slave Métis Tribal Council & NWT Métis Cultural Institute, the lack of meaningful employment in the area of language development gives a strong signal about the social and economic value of Aboriginal languages at the current time.

From the research the Special Committee has done, few GNWT departments other than Education, Culture and Employment currently dedicate base funding to Aboriginal or French language services, relying almost exclusively on federal funding obtained through the Canada-NWT Cooperation Agreement for French and Aboriginal Languages in the NWT. There are few jobs within the federal government and industry that require Aboriginal language skills or are focussed on interpretation/translation, TK research, Aboriginal language service delivery, or language acquisition activities (although language skills are certainly acknowledged as an asset).

With respect to language services, the economic principle of 'supply and demand' appears to have been overlooked. Francophones have been demanding better French language services for many years, and have gone to court over the issue, but are still not satisfied with the level of service provided. The Special Committee has heard that many Aboriginal peoples have stopped asking for Aboriginal language services, even though these services are desired, because there is no 'active offer' of service — people are obligated to speak English, even within their own language territories.

Roy Fabian noted during the SCOL community meeting on the K'átł'odeeche Dene Reserve, "… how much money was spent on English compared to Aboriginal [languages] … English is just a given that it's there — that's the main problem" (Special Committee on the Review of the *Official Languages Act*, 2001 & 2002, p. 1). By creating more positions relating to Aboriginal and French language use, and establishing these positions at parity with similar occupations within government and industry, more incentive would be created for people to learn and use official languages, rather than having to assume that English is the primary language of work. As well, any increase in the number of positions that require French as a working language would enhance employment among francophones within the NWT and provide more incentive for young French Canadians to learn their language.

Expansion of the language economy in the NWT would also provide employment and business opportunities relating to the production of language materials such as books and educational materials, radio and television programming, linguistic research, language instruction for adults, among others. Some of these goods and services may be exportable to language communities outside of the NWT. By creating a greater demand for language products and services that can be developed in the NWT, we can effectively enhance the value of our official languages and contribute to an overall strengthening of the NWT economy.

Observations and Conclusions

From the preceding discussion of the value of our official languages, the Special Committee has highlighted and summarized the following key observations and conclusions relating to the resource value of our languages.

1. The fact that we live in a territory with so many languages and cultural identities poses significant challenges. But the Special Committee believes that these challenges can be overcome through carefully planned and focussed initiatives and through the committed, collaborative effort of all stakeholders, including all levels of government, industry, language communities, and families. Our initiatives and efforts must be based on an understanding of the inherent resource value of our official languages and the recognition of our historical ability to maintain, and function within, a multilingual social environment. Working with our languages from a resource-based perspective as well as from a rights-based perspective will contribute to a greater overall acceptance of the value of our languages.

2. The Special Committee believes that there are significant social, environmental, and economic benefits to maintaining our historic linguistic diversity and that these benefits apply to all of our citizens, not just to the members of a particular language community. Our official languages should not be viewed as a hindrance to our overall development and well-being, but, rather, should continue to be "a dynamic tool people can use to interact in a meaningful and authoritative way with the rest of society" (Crosscurrent Associates, 1999, p. 9).

3. The Special Committee believes that language is a fundamental and core component of culture, and that loss of culture, particularly loss through coercion and indifference, affects one's sense of identity and self-esteem. From this perspective, official language revitalization must be viewed as an empowering activity that can effectively contribute to the social well-being of our northern communities.

4. The Northwest Territories is one of only a few homelands in the world for our indigenous Aboriginal languages. Collectively, we must ensure that these languages and cultures survive and flourish within their traditional homelands.

5. The Special Committee is concerned that we are losing our collective history as a Northern people as our elders age and pass on. It is imperative that we continue to research, document, and preserve our traditional place names, the knowledge of historical events, and the stories and legends of our peoples, in the languages that have contained and carried forward this knowledge for so many years.

6. The Special Committee believes that we must carry out more research on the structure and development of our languages, as a way of understanding and explaining the differences in dialect and the different cultural stories of each of our language communities.

7. The Special Committee believes that our indigenous languages contribute to the sum total of our collective knowledge and values as a society. They provide us with information, knowledge, and perspectives that we can use to make sound and enlightened decisions with respect to many social issues, including governance, justice, health, and education. We must continue to identify ways that the cultural knowledge inherent in our languages can contribute to effective solutions to our social problems and more efficient ways to achieve our collective goals.

8. The Special Committee believes that traditional knowledge (TK) is particularly important as our continued growth and development, particularly non-renewable resource development, puts increased pressure on the environment. Because of the close connection between TK and language, it is clear to the Special Committee that preservation and transmission of traditional knowledge is dependent on continued use of the Aboriginal languages that carry this knowledge and provide the conceptual framework for it to be fully understood.

9. The Special Committee fully supports the GNWT's desire to maintain a traditional economy as an alternative or supplement to wage employment. We must ensure that our harvesting activities are consistent with the teaching and understandings of the elders, as rooted in our ancestral languages. If we lose these languages, our ability to fully understand the nature of the relationship we have with the land, and its ability to support us, may be lost.

10. The Special Committee believes an expansion of the language economy in the NWT could provide valuable employment and business opportunities and would fulfil the underlying demand for increased services in the Aboriginal and French languages. We must make a concerted effort to establish and designate more positions within government and industry based on languages other than English. These might include community liaison positions, interpreter/translators, language instructors, curriculum and resource developers, broadcasters, and a wide range of public service positions. We must further ensure that northern people are getting the language education and training required to qualify for these types of positions.

11. The Special Committee believes that language preservation is of particular value to our emerging eco-tourism and cultural tourism sectors and can enhance the development of innovative tourism packages and products.

12. The Special Committee believes that our investments in language initiatives must take into account the social, environmental, and economic value these languages have to our society as a whole.

CHAPTER 3

A RECENT HISTORY OF LANGUAGE POLICY IN THE NWT

Introduction

The Special Committee believes that one of the ways a society can express value for a language, or group of languages, is by establishing and maintaining a policy framework to support and promote the ongoing use of that language. From this perspective, it is important to understand the historical development of our current language policy framework in the NWT in order to appreciate fully our current situation, build on what has worked successfully in the past, and better determine the policy directions we set for the future.

This chapter will provide a brief, historical overview of the general language policy framework in the Northwest Territories both before and after the adoption of the NWT *Official Languages Act*, with a view to describing the socio-political context in which certain policy initiatives were undertaken. Policies that have reflected cultural attitudes and impacted on cultural relationships have also been reviewed, due to the critical link between language and culture discussed in Chapter 2. This chapter uses a broad definition of the term 'policy' that includes legislation, regulations, formally written policies, and government management decisions.

Information in this chapter is derived from past and existing legislation; formal GNWT policies; transcripts from Hansard and documents tabled in the NWT's Legislative Assembly; federal-territorial agreements; annual evaluation and research reports; history and policy texts; and communications with key government officials and managers. Policy-related documents were first reviewed and summarized in chronological order and then analyzed to determine the intent and outcome of policy decisions and initiatives.

For the purposes of this report, the history of language policy has been grouped into three approximate periods: pre-1950, the 1950s through 1984, and post-1984. The discussion of the two earlier periods focuses first on Aboriginal language and cultural policy and then on French language and cultural policy. Discussion of the most recent period focuses on the significant events affecting our official languages since the establishment of the *Official Languages Ordinance* of 1984.

Language Policy Prior to 1950

The pre-1950 period was characterized by assimilation policies toward Aboriginal people, along with policies of isolation and indifference. For the French language, the pre-1950s was characterized by the development of binational policies, territorial separation of the main English and French language communities, and erosion of francophone minority language rights outside of Quebec.

Aboriginal Language and Cultural Policy

> *The analysis… reveals both an active interference as well as benign neglect on the part of the federal and provincial governments as they dealt with Aboriginal people over time. The current marginalization that Aboriginal people find themselves in today is no recent event, but rather rooted in historical circumstances. (Frideres & Gadacz, 2001, p. 3)*

Canada has always been a multilingual nation — in practice if not in policy. Exactly how many Aboriginal languages existed in Canada at the time of European contact is not known, but, according to linguists, approximately fifty-three distinct Aboriginal languages exist today, along with numerous dialects (Cook, 1998, p. 125). Aboriginal people of different language communities traded among themselves and had other formal contacts, which would indicate that situations of bilingualism existed and that interpreters were used in certain situations.

Regular contact between First Nations people and French fishermen, explorers, and traders began in the 1500s in Canada and expanded during the 1600s. These contacts resulted in a number of attempts to teach French to the Aboriginal people and also to learn the indigenous languages. Neither approach was particularly successful at first due to differences in the grammatical and phonological structures of the languages and "the profound gaps between European and Amerindian conceptual universes" (Mackey, 1998, p. 17).

Throughout the 1600s and early 1700s, France's imperial policy was one of ethnic assimilation: " … the French government expected the two races to merge into one — 'un mesme peuple et un mesme sang'" (Mackey, 1998, p. 16) with French as the dominant language and culture. However, traders and missionaries wanting ongoing contact with First Nations peoples eventually had to learn the Aboriginal languages instead, and soon became important intermediaries. This trend applied to the British colonists as well. Intercultural relationships were not uncommon during early contact and resulted in the birth of a new people, the Métis, many of whom were bilingual and began to take on the role of both cultural and language interpreters — a role that continued into the 20th century.

> *The emergence of the Métis, born of aboriginal and non-aboriginal parents — especially French, English, and Scottish — marked the creation of not only a new and uniquely 'Canadian' population, but also of a new language (Michif). The Métis and their language were instrumental in facilitating, among other things, major economic growth during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. (Harnum, 1998, p. 472)*

Métis began to migrate to and settle in the Northwest Territories in significant numbers in the mid-to late 1880s and played a key role in the early development of the fur trade — as employees of the trading companies, interpreters, traders, and trappers. They brought the Michif, French, and English languages with them. Most intermarried in the North and soon learned the Aboriginal language, or languages, of their new homeland.

Although early trade and missionary work throughout Canada began to be conducted to a significant extent in the Aboriginal languages, either directly or through interpreters, the general policy of both French and English authorities remained one of cultural assimilation. The Jesuit missionaries had a significant influence on social policy in early Canada and came with the purpose of converting Aboriginal people to Christianity. The *Royal Proclamation* of 1763, which formed the basis for British Indian Policy, recognized the importance of First Nations people as allies in their war against French occupation in North America and effectively recognized Aboriginal land rights. However, the Proclamation also led to the idea that Indian policy should be unified and conducted through a superintendent. When British dominance was secured in Canada in the late 1700s, the policies of the government began to change and, in spite of the *Royal Proclamation*, greater effort was made to actively assimilate Aboriginal people into mainstream society. By 1842, the Bagot Commission recognized the residential school as the central instrument of social policy regarding Aboriginal people (Armitage, 1995, pp. 72-77).

Regular contact between First Nations people and French fishermen, explorers, and traders began in the 1500s in Canada and expanded during the 1600s.

As the 1800s progressed, language and cultural policy toward Aboriginal peoples became more and more restrictive. In the 1850s, legislation was introduced that "for the first time, established a legal definition of 'Indian', and which vested all First Nations lands and property in the hands of a commissioner of Indian lands. Lands so vested could not be sold without Crown consent" (Armitage, 1995, p. 77). Immediately after Confederation, an act that provided for the management of Indian and Ordinance Lands was established, followed in 1873 by the *Indian Act*. The *Indian Act* was conceived as a complete code for the management of Indian affairs under the authority of agents of the superintendent of Indian affairs. The *Indian Act* was primarily administrative in scope and did not directly address language or cultural matters. However, the intent of the *Act* and associated legislation was clearly to undermine Aboriginal culture and promote cultural assimilation:

> *When traditional First Nation customs, in the view of missionaries or Indian agents, interfered with progress toward assimilation, legislation was introduced to ban them (e.g., in 1884, the Potlatch and the Sun Dance were banned). In 1920, provisions requiring First Nation peoples to seek permits to appear in*

> *traditional dress and to perform traditional dances were written into the* Indian Act*; when the First Nations people of Manitoba and the Northwest Territories persisted in continuing to hunt and fish, the act was amended so that the game laws applied to them as well as to non-aboriginals (1890); when schools on the reserves were not well attended and First Nations parents failed to send their children to residential schools, provisions permitting the governor-general-in-council to issue regulations and to commit children to such institutions were written into the act (1894); when these provisions failed to obtain consistent attendance, the act was strengthened by classifying as delinquent all children who did not attend and by making their parents subject to criminal penalties (1920); and when First Nations peoples failed to apply for enfranchisement, provisions making it compulsory were written into the act (1922). (Armitage, 1995, pp. 78-79)*

During the early 1900s, the establishment of new western provinces and the Yukon Territory impacted Aboriginal language communities in the north. Language communities were split between two or more jurisdictions in spite of their historic and cultural connections, and fell under different provincial and territorial policy regimes. The Chipewyan, Cree, South Slavey, and Gwich'in were particularly affected in the NWT. Contemporary land claims negotiators still struggle with cross-boundary issues and it is more difficult for Aboriginal language communities in different jurisdictions to coordinate language initiatives.

Treaties 1 through 8 were negotiated during the period 1871 to 1900, and the most northerly treaty, Treaty 11, was signed in 1921. "The government's purpose in negotiating treaties in the Northwest was to free land for settlement and development. A corollary of this was the urgent desire to satisfy the Indians sufficiently so that they would remain peaceful. The nature and extent of Indian rights to the territory were not discussed during negotiations, nor were they defined in the treaties themselves" (Frideres and Gadacz, 2001, p. 176). The interpretation and implementation of these treaties has been a source of conflict between Aboriginal people and the federal government ever since (Fumoleau, 1973).

In spite of the signing of Treaties 8 and 11, which, in the eyes of the government, consolidated federal control over northern First Nations peoples and the land, the provisions of the *Indian Act* were less rigorously applied in the NWT. This was primarily due to the fact that reserves were not established. The government at that time acknowledged that a reserve system may not be beneficial in the north (Fumoleau, 1973, p. 61) and, with some restrictions, a traditional hunting and trapping lifestyle continued, involving both First Nations and Métis people. However, the *Indian Act* supported the ongoing establishment and operation of residential schools throughout Canada and the NWT. These schools were explicitly established to destroy Aboriginal culture and promote cultural assimilation (Réaume & Macklem, 1994). Aside from having a generally destructive effect on Aboriginal culture and language, the residential school system — due to chronic under-funding, overcrowding,and lax administration — resulted in many deaths from communicable diseases and poor hygiene and diet, and also had extremely low educational standards (Milloy, 1999).

Over the past decade, many Aboriginal people who attended these schools have started speaking out about their impact:

> *Throughout the entire period of residential schooling, the stated policy of the federal government, supported by the churches and the Canadian public at large, was the destruction of Aboriginal culture. This was to be done by removing children from their families and communities and immersing them in a highly structured and controlled environment where Western Christian values and behaviours of the time could be taught. Unfortunately, and not surprisingly, many children were deeply wounded by the residential school experience. Residential schools were often a closed system: once inside, the children were at the mercy of their caretakers, with little or no recourse to sympathetic adults. For those children fortunate enough to have caring and supportive caretakers, life was tolerable, in spite of the pain associated with being separated from family. For those who were at the mercy of strict disciplinarians or pedophiles, life was miserable; many children suffered deep emotional and spiritual wounds [including] loss of language and other important cultural knowledge — resulting in alienation from elders, community, and the land. (Grollier Hall Residential School Healing Circle, 1998, p. 7)*

Prior to Confederation, no federal policies directly affected Inuit people.

Prior to Confederation, no federal policies directly affected Inuit people. However, immediately after Confederation, the Inuit were placed under the *Indian Act*. After a short period of time, they were moved out from under the *Indian Act* and fell under the direct jurisdiction of the federal government, effectively becoming wards of the government, but without the structured administrative controls of the *Indian Act*. A 'disc' number was allotted to each Inuk; and, for a time, only those with numbers were officially defined as Inuit. During the early 1900s, the federal government was primarily concerned with establishing a physical presence and sovereignty in the far North; social development was not a priority (Frideres & Gadacz, 2001, pp. 42-43). Within this broad policy framework, the Inuit, for the most part, were ignored by government and pursued traditional lifestyles, with varying degrees of contact with whalers, traders, and missionaries, most of whom were English speaking. These contacts created trade opportunities, conflicts, over-harvesting of some resources, epidemics, and a certain degree of early language shift, reflected in the fact that Inuktitut has many borrowed words from English (Office of the Languages Commissioner of the NWT, 1993, p. 7).

In the Western Arctic, contact with whalers began in the mid-19th century and had significant consequences: "The cultural impact of the American whalers [in the Beaufort-Delta area] was substantial … many of the species in the area were reduced to the point where they would not support human habitation. In addition, the introduction of influenza and other epidemics decimated the Inuvialuit population" (Frideres & Gadacz, 2001, p. 268). With the collapse of the whaling industry in the early 1900s, many Inuvialuit began to engage in the fur trade and remain in localized areas. The influence of the churches and government began to increase: "… missionaries from various religious denominations were to enter the North and attempt to convert Inuit to Christianity.… Any behaviour by the Inuit that did not meet the minimum conditions of Canadian law was subject to immediate and harsh sanctions" (p. 269). Inuvialuit children fell under the residential school policy of the federal government and had similar experiences to other Aboriginal children in Canada.

> *Stories abound among Inuvialuit now in middle age of being picked up during the summer by a schooner from places as far away as Banks or Victoria Islands and taken to mission school on the mainland.… Often as young as eight years old, the children would arrive speaking only Inuvialuktun. Once boarding there, however, they were forbidden to speak their language and punished if caught doing so … they often spent years at a mission school, with the inevitable result that they lost their native language. (Lowe, 1983, p. ix)*

The federal policy of assimilation appears to have had a significant detrimental impact on Aboriginal languages. According to linguists, "By the middle of the twentieth century, several Amerindian languages had hardly any speakers under the age of twenty.… The most moribund languages were in the areas of the earliest European settlements.… By the 1950s, very few languages could count more than 1,000 speakers, and only three (Inuktitut, Ojibwa, and Cree), those most often used in the home, numbered more than 10,000" (Mackey, 1998, p. 18).

However, in spite of the pervasive federal policy of assimilation toward Aboriginal peoples, significant numbers of Aboriginal people throughout Canada managed to maintain their ancestral languages. The Northwest Territories continued to be a multilingual region of the country. Amazingly, perhaps, "In 1951, 87.4% of the Native people of Canada claimed an

Aboriginal language as their mother tongue" (Office of the Languages Commissioner of the NWT, 1993, p. 36). This rate of language retention would have varied from community to community and from region to region and would likely have been higher in the many parts of the north, depending on a variety of social, cultural, and economic factors. First, the percentage of Aboriginal people who attended residential school prior to the 1950s was actually relatively low, and many children, other than orphans, only spent a few years at these schools. "Despite the advent of compulsory education for all Canadians in 1920, nearly half of native school-age children were still without formal education in 1951. One-third of the remaining half went as far as Grade 3, and only one out of ten went to Grade 6" (Drapeau, 1998, p. 151).

The geographic isolation of the north, and the forced isolation of southern Indians on reserves, also reduced immediate pressure from other languages. For example, language retention rates for on-reserve Indians are approximately double that of off-reserve Indians (Frideres and Gadacz, 2001, p. 88). In the north, most Aboriginal people continued to pursue a traditional lifestyle for much of the year during the early to mid-1900s, which allowed them the opportunity to maintain their languages. As well, federal interest in the north was not high; government generally left northern development in the hands of the church and the trading companies. The federal government " … maintained, until well after the war, a 'leave-them-be' approach" (Milloy, 1999, p. 241). As a result, in many isolated areas of the north, there continued to be unilingual Aboriginal language speakers, and, where greater contact had occurred, many Aboriginal people were bilingual or multilingual (Fort Resolution Education Authority, 1987, pp. 57-59).

This situation began to change dramatically in subsequent years. The percentage of Native people in Canada who claimed an Aboriginal language as their mother tongue dropped from 87.4% in 1951 to 29.3% in 1981 (Office of the Languages Commissioner of the NWT, 1993, p. 36). This is a very significant decline, although the rate of decline in the north would likely have been lower. Over 95% of the Aboriginal people in Canada who changed languages switched to English (Frideres & Gadacz, 2001, p. 88). The policy changes that preceded this rapid decline are discussed in a subsequent section of this chapter.

French Language and Cultural Policy

> *[Following the Riel Rebellion in 1985] the anti-Riel backlash resulted in another setback to the status of the French language in Canada. In 1890, French was banned from both the judiciary and the legislature of Manitoba. Henceforth, all laws were passed in English only — until a century later. (Mackey, 1998, p. 30)*

French was the first European language to take root in Canada, beginning in the 1500s. "In 1600, the first permanent fur trading post was established in Tadoussac (Quebec) to secure a trading relationship with native fur suppliers" (Mathieu, 1999, p. 2). Aside from establishing trading relationships, French immigrants settled in 'New France', intermarried, and, in some cases, learned the Aboriginal languages of trade. Up until the early to mid-1800s, the French population in Canada was significantly larger than the English population and French remained a vital language of commerce and religion throughout Canada. Up until the late 1800s, French Canadians [and francophone Métis] "accounted for more than half of the non-Indian population" in Western Canada (Mackey, 1998, p. 20).

The British defeat of French forces in 1759 and the establishment of British rule in North America marked the beginning of an ongoing struggle over language and cultural rights between the French and English communities in Canada. Immediately following the *Royal Proclamation* of 1763, the British adopted a policy of cultural assimilation toward the French majority (Magnet, 1995, p. 5). However, this policy was changed within ten years, when it became clear that it was not working and when the British government needed to gain the loyalty of the French community to prevent the northward spread of the American Revolution. In order to secure loyalty, the British enacted the *Quebec Act* of 1774, followed by the *Constitution Act* of 1791, which provided protection to French language, culture, religion, and government institutions and formally established the policy of linguistic duality in Canada. The *Constitution Act* also formally established territorial separation of the two colonial language groups into Upper and Lower Canada (pp. 6-7).

The tolerant cultural and linguistic relationship that these acts established was temporarily shattered when a rebellion in Lower Canada resulted in the Durham Report and the *Act of Union* (1840), which provided for a United Province of Canada, effectively controlled by the English majority. The *Act of Union* was a strategic effort by the British to overwhelm and assimilate French Canada and was opposed vigorously by francophones. When it again became clear that a policy of assimilation did not work and when concerns over American influence and dominance in North America were growing, a new constitutional accord was reached. The *Constitution Act, 1867*, which established Canada as a nation state, guaranteed the constitutional status of the French language within the Parliament of Canada and the constitutional status of French culture, language, and institutions within Quebec. This *Act* also provided some constitutional protection to both French and English language minorities throughout Canada. However, primarily for

Fernand Denault, President of the Fédération Franco-TéNOise presenting at the public hearings in Yellowknife, March 2002.

political reasons. "The well-intentioned protections for minority language communities which the Framers of the 1867 Constitution created did not work.... Ottawa never invoked [the power of dissallowance] to protect a linguistic minority" (Magnet, 1995, p. 13). Language minorities, particularly francophone language minorities outside of Quebec, were left to fend for themselves, and, "Acts of aggression against French linguistic minorities in the provinces with anglophone majorities occurred repeatedly since the time of Confederation" (p. 14).

The Northwest Territories, formally established in 1870 through the *Manitoba Act*, included what are now Saskatchewan, Alberta, Yukon, NWT, Nunavut, and portions of northern Ontario and Quebec. It was initially governed by an eighteen-member council with French being an active working language of the council. In 1890, the federal *North-West Territories Act* created a territorial legislature, which published all of its ordinances in both English and French up until 1892. In 1890, an amendment to the *North-West Territories Act* gave the legislature the power to make laws concerning the languages of the legislature, but also preserved French as an official language of the courts. In 1892, as a backlash to the Riel Rebellion, the legislature declared English to be the only official language of the assembly (Mathieu, 1999). "This occurred despite the roughly equal number of French and English inhabitants in this region... and the existence of a provision in the Northwest Territories Act which protected the use of French within the institutions of government" (Magnet, 1995, p. 14). The federal government did not intervene and French was not formally acknowledged as an official language in the NWT until the *Official Languages Ordinance* of 1984.

Despite the reluctance of the federal government to actively support French language minority rights outside of Quebec, French continued to be an active working language in the NWT into the 1900s due to the influence of the fur trade, and, particularly, the Catholic Church:

> *In the Northwest Territories, it is probably not exaggerating too much to say that it was the Oblate Missionaries of Mary Immaculate and the Grey Nuns who had the greatest impact on the Far North in terms of its francophone element. It is true that a number of francophone men came into the area as coureurs de bois, independent traders, prospectors, and that a great many of them married Amerindian women; but it was mainly the French Canadian priests and nuns who created the social structures enabling the francophone element to survive in the Northwest Territories until our present time. (Perreault, 1988, p. 19)*

As the 20th century progressed, French regained a presence within the federal public service, which, during the late 1800s and early 1900s was primarily unilingual English. French appeared alongside English on postage stamps and bank notes in the 1920s and 1930s. A federal Translation Bureau was established in 1934 and, in the following years, the public service began to communicate with Quebec in French. The National Film Board, Canadian Broadcasting Company, and Canada Council promoted French language and culture (Office of the Languages Commissioner of the NWT, 2001). Generally, however, French influence outside of Quebec dropped steadily and considerably during the first half of the 20th century:

This decline in French language use outside of Quebec, coupled with the corresponding maintenance of French within Quebec, created a situation of linguistic separation.

> *By the 1870s, when the population of Canada was just over three and a half million, two million were speakers of English and one million speakers of French. During the following century, almost ten million people immigrated to Canada, most of them English-speaking. In spite of later efforts to recruit settlers from French-speaking Europe, the proportion of French speakers has fallen from a half to a quarter. But this increase in the number of English speakers was due not only to English immigration. It was also due in some part to the assimilation of French-speaking minorities. When*

> *French speakers are part of a community where English is the dominant speech, they inevitably have to work in that language; their children become bilingual, intermarry, and produce offspring who speak the dominant language. (Mackey, 1998, p. 23)*

This decline in French language use outside of Quebec, coupled with the corresponding maintenance of French within Quebec, created a situation of linguistic separation:

> *Eighty-three percent of Quebeckers use French at home. Fifty-eight percent of Quebeckers speak only French. English is concentrated in the other provinces. Ninety-eight percent of that population use English at home.... The unmistakable trend, established for more than a hundred years, is for increasing territorial separation between the language communities. (Magnet 1995, p. 91)*

Language Policy from the 1950s Through 1984

The 1950s to 1984 period was characterized by active assimilation policies toward Aboriginal people in the north, including resettlement into communities and entrenchment of the southern education system, followed by a cultural awakening and assertion of Aboriginal rights. For francophones, this period was characterized by a reassertion of language and cultural rights within Quebec and at the federal and provincial levels, but with a continued decline in French language use outside of Quebec. In the Northwest Territories, this period culminated with the enactment of the Official Languages Ordinance (1984).

Aboriginal Language and Cultural Policy

> *As the nation moved north, further penetrating the homeland of Aboriginal communities, a whole new tier of schools was created, beginning in 1955.... In its creation and operation, the northern system followed the same path that had been traveled by its southern counterpart. (Milloy, 1999, p. 239)*

> *Deputy Minister R.G. Robertson wrote that this was "... universal education ... a single system of schools for children of all races ..." that would facilitate "... greater economy of effort and more efficiency in a region of very sparse and mixed population ... and remove ... any element of segregation on a racial basis." (Milloy, 1999, p. 245)*

The period of time following the Second World War was significant, because the rate of language shift among Aboriginal people in Canada appears to have increased dramatically during this period. This period began with amendments to the *Indian Act* that loosened some of its restrictive policies. The amended *Act* acknowledged a political voice for Aboriginal women, provided for greater self-government for Indian bands, and eased enfranchisement conditions, thereby allowing Aboriginal people to participate more fully in society without giving up their Indian status. However, the amendments also promoted an integrated education system where Aboriginal children, when possible, would attend school with non-Indian children. The goal of this particular policy was to effectively accelerate the process of assimilation.

> *In 1947, a Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons recommended that Indian and Inuit children be educated in mainstream schools whenever possible. Funding arrangements were made with provincial governments and some children began attending provincial schools near their home communities. In the north, however, and other remote areas of Canada, residential schooling continued. In the 1960s, 60 residential schools still operated across Canada with up to 10,000 students at any one time.... In the north, the federal government gradually took over operation of the actual schools, while the churches maintained operation of many of the student residences or hostels. In the Western Arctic, eight hostels were opened between 1952 and 1960; seven of these run by either the Anglican or Roman Catholic churches. In 1962, 1191 "Indians", 2013 Inuit, and 2170 others (including Métis and non-Aboriginals) were attending school.*
> *(Grollier Hall Residential School Healing Circle, 1998, p. 6)*

Although this approach resulted in improvements in the quality of the curriculum from an academic perspective, Aboriginal culture was not adequately reflected: "[Anglican Bishop] Marsh was convinced that the text material prepared by the Department reinforced the teachers' assimilationist pedagogy. The texts did, he admitted, contain information about 'their old way of life', but 'nothing which would make a child feel that this way of life was of any value'" (Milloy, 1999, p. 255).

Aside from a change in educational policy, in the late 1940s the federal government began a policy of resettlement throughout the North. A number of forced Inuit relocations took place throughout the 1950s and there was a general push by government to 'urbanize' the Arctic, based on the belief that Inuit culture was inferior to Western culture (Frideres & Gadacz 2001, p. 270). Similarly, during the 1950s and early 1960s, many Dene and Métis who had been living on the land were encouraged (or, in some instances, coerced) to move into settlements in order to receive services such as education, housing, and social assistance. This general move to settlements, along with increased pressure for children to attend government run schools, occurred at a time when the federal government's interest in northern resource development was increasing.

> *Every year more mines were discovered and opened, roads were built, parks proposed, oil and gas wells drilled without our consent or often our knowledge. The education system in the territories provided no room for people who were*

> *different. Our children were being taken away for the purpose of education, and were returned to us years later as strangers to their own land, culture, and families. (Dene Nation, 1984, p. 19)*

When the federal government established the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in 1963, Aboriginal people were not included in the study.

> *Indigenous peoples, then called 'Indians and Eskimos', were to be excluded from consideration in the study since they were perceived not to form part of the 'founding races' as understood in the terms of reference for the Commission, nor were they included 'as other ethnic groups', which were those who had emigrated to Canada.... Given that most Aboriginal people in Canada did not get suffrage at the federal level until 1960, it is perhaps not surprising but ironic that the federal government was not used to thinking of them as citizens much less as among the 'founding races'. (Burnaby, 1996, p. 163)*

The culmination of the government's assimilation policy was its release of the *Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy* (referred to as the White Paper) in 1969. This paper called for the elimination of the legal status of Indians and thereby full assimilation of Indian peoples into Canadian society. The White Paper was vigorously opposed by Indian leaders across Canada and led to the National Indian Brotherhood's (1972) policy paper entitled *Indian Control of Indian Education*, which called for parental responsibility for and local control of culturally-based schools for Indian people. The National Indian Brotherhood (NIB) paper stated that the goal for education should be "to reinforce their Indian identity and to provide the training necessary for making a good living in modern society" (p. 3). Significantly, the NIB paper stated that "pre-school and primary school classes should be taught in the language of the community. Transition to English or French as a second language should be introduced only after the child has a strong grasp of his own language" (p. 15). The paper also called for teacher aides specializing in Indian languages and increased funding for Aboriginal language research and development. The Minister of Indian Affairs gave official recognition to the NIB proposals and committed the Department to implementing them, following the widespread criticism of the White Paper.

One year later, Justice William Morrow of the Supreme Court of the Northwest Territories ruled that the indigenous people of the NWT appear to be the owners of the land in the Mackenzie Valley, had aboriginal rights that may not have been extinguished through Treaties 8 and 11, and should be permitted to put forward a claim for title to the land. Although this ruling was overturned by the Supreme Court of Canada on a legal technicality, it, along with the Nishga ruling in the same year, forced the federal government to adopt a new policy toward Aboriginal peoples' inherent cultural rights (Dene Nation, 1984, p. 27).

Drummers at the Second Territorial Languages Assembly, Hay River (K´átł´odeeche) Dene Reserve, October 2002.

Over a short period of time, intense pressure from Aboriginal peoples spurred on by Supreme Court rulings resulted in the federal government effectively changing its policy of cultural assimilation to one of cultural recognition and inclusion. The federal change in policy had a direct impact on policy developments in the Northwest Territories.

The Government of the Northwest Territories took over responsibility for education from the federal government in 1969. In 1972, the Department of Education published a kindergarten to grade 6 curriculum guide that recommended giving Aboriginal languages precedence in the early grades. Then, in 1976, the *Education Act (Ordinance)* was amended to support Aboriginal language instruction. The amendments gave authority to local education councils to choose the language of instruction in their community for kindergarten to grade two. Many schools began to introduce second-language instruction in the Aboriginal languages; however, the primary language of instruction in most communities in the Western Arctic continued to be English. An Aboriginal teacher education program, the first of its kind in North America, was established in Yellowknife.

As well, the Government of the Northwest Territories established an Interpreter Corps in 1973, whose primary role was to provide interpreter/translator services to government departments and to the Legislative Assembly. At this time, some respected members of the Legislative Assembly were unilingual Aboriginal language speakers.

In 1979, an enlarged Legislative Assembly, with a majority of Aboriginal members, was elected in the Northwest Territories. This assembly quickly established a Special Committee on Education that held hearings throughout the North. The need for reform was brought into sharp focus as community after community outlined the need for change to an education system that for so long had ignored their cultural and linguistic needs. Three common concerns were raised at these community hearings: the lack of Aboriginal teachers, the lack of cultural knowledge and experience among many non-Aboriginal teachers, and the immense gap between the Department of Education's concept of language and cultural curriculum and its ability to implement it in the classroom. *The Report of the Special Committee: Learning: Tradition and Change* (Legislative Assembly of the Northwest Territories, 1982) was tabled and laid the groundwork for the restructuring of the northern education system. The findings of this report also led to the immediate establishment of the Indigenous Languages Development Fund to support community-based Aboriginal language projects. Approximately $1 million was committed each year over a three-year period.

Contemporary Canadian policy toward Aboriginal peoples was consolidated in 1982 in Section 35 (1) of the repatriated Constitution, which recognized (but did not define) the "existing aboriginal and treaty rights of the aboriginal peoples of Canada" (*Constitution Act*, 1982). Although Aboriginal language rights were not explicitly mentioned or defined in the *Act* and have not been defined through court actions, language and cultural rights are being defined and addressed to some degree through provincial and territorial legislation (for example Quebec's *Charter of the French Language* 1977) and the *Official Languages Act* of the NWT) and through Aboriginal self-government agreements.

The 1984 enactment of the *Official Languages Ordinance* of the NWT was a major step forward in protecting and revitalizing Aboriginal language and culture. This *Ordinance* recognized Chipewyan, Cree, Dogrib, Loucheux, North Slavey, South Slavey, and Inuktitut as 'official aboriginal languages' of the NWT. The *Ordinance* also expressed commitment to the preservation, development, and enhancement of the Aboriginal languages. It also resulted in a federal government commitment to provide ongoing funding for Aboriginal language enhancement, along with funding to provide French language services.

French Language and Cultural Policy

French language policy in Canada remained relatively unchanged until the early 1960s and francophone language and culture was sustained in relative isolation of the rest of Canada: "Prior to the late 1950s, Quebec's development was based on the family and parish. The Church encouraged large families to preserve traditional language and culture.... The private economy was neglected, leaving capital formation, industry, and investment to the control of English Canadian enterprise" (Magnet, 1995, p. 24). The Asbestos Strike of 1949 was the first major challenge to the rule of the Church and marked the beginning of the Quiet Revolution in Quebec, which saw the rise of a "French-Canadian urban proletariat, a non-clerical intelligentsia and a politicized middle class" (Mackey, 1998, p. 32). Through the actions of the Quiet Revolution:

> *In less than two decades, the multiple barriers maintained by a militant and omnipresent Church had crumbled. Every pore of Quebec society was now open to outside influences. These influences upon its traditional values transformed Quebec into a consumer society: secular, materialistic and Americanized. No longer dominated by religion, its identity depended to a great extent on language. For all these reasons, the maintenance of the French language in Quebec now became more important than ever before. (Mackey, 1998, p. 33)*

Formal efforts to revitalize the French language in Quebec began in 1961, with the establishment of an Office de la langue française. During the 1960s, French Canadians also began to call for more constitutional authority for Quebec and "greater preservation and promotion of the French language" within federal institutions and the provinces (Magnet, 1995, p. 25). These efforts led to the establishment of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in 1963. One of the Commission's first findings was that the country was in a "central crisis of its history" and, to resolve this crisis, would have to grant everyone the right to an education in his or her own official language, make the federal public service bilingual, and recognize the distinctive character of Quebec (Office of the Languages Commissioner of the NWT, 2001, p. 23).

The Royal Commission led to the establishment of the *Official Languages Act* of Canada in 1969.

> *The* Act *enshrined French/English bilingualism in all federal laws and documents and guaranteed services for francophones and anglophones in the language of their choice. It also provided for a parliament-appointed Commissioner of Official Languages to see that the language laws and regulations were respected. These provisions were later enshrined in the new Canadian constitution when it was repatriated in 1982, and also in a new Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. (Mackey, 1998, p. 34)*

The *Act* provided some support to official language minorities in the provinces, particularly with respect to education. In the Northwest Territories, the *Act* led to the funding of French language instruction in the schools in 1972 through the Canada-NWT Language Agreement on Minority Education and Second Language Instruction.

Although the *Official Languages Act* provided some protection and guarantees for French outside of Quebec, the Quebec Government saw the need to further protect the French language within Quebec, and, based on the recommendations of the Gendron Commission, enacted the *Official Language Act* of Quebec (Bill 22) in 1974. This *Act* was followed in 1977 by the *Charter of the French Language* which was designed to give Quebec institutions and society a fundamentally French character (Magnet, 1995, pp. 36-38). The *Charter* also acknowledges and provides some guarantees for the province's indigenous Aboriginal languages.

Although the *Official Languages Act* of Canada excluded territorial government institutions and Aboriginal governments from the direct provisions of the *Act* with respect to the provision of government services, a court case in Yukon in 1983 regarding an English language speeding ticket opened "debate on the application of section 133 of the *Constitution Act, 1867* to the federal territories" (Mathieu, 1999, p.10). This section of the *Constitution Act* "enshrined bilingualism at the federal level and in Quebec as far as the laws, parliamentary institutions and courts were concerned" (Mathieu, 1999, p. 5) and was reinforced through section 20 of the *Constitution Act, 1982*. Mr. Daniel St. Jean challenged the ticket on the basis that he had the constitutional right to communicate with and receive services from the Yukon Government in French. The pivotal question was whether or not the Yukon Government (and, by extension, the Government of the NWT) was an 'institution' of the Government of Canada.

Mr. St. Jean lost his case in territorial court but appealed to the Supreme Court of Yukon. The Government of the Northwest Territories prepared to intervene in the case based on the position that it was not an institution of the Parliament or Government of Canada within the meaning of section 20 of the *Constitution Act*. However, prior to the case being heard, the federal government introduced Bill C-26 which would have amended the *Northwest Territories Act* and the *Yukon Act* making English and French the official languages of both territories and making the provisions of the *Official Languages Act* of Canada applicable to both territories. The federal government feared that if the court ruled in Mr. St. Jean's favour, all ordinances of the territories could be declared invalid if challenged (Legislative Assembly of the Northwest Territories, 1984, p. 95, the Hon. Richard Nerysoo, Government Leader).

The introduction of the Bill C-26 sparked considerable debate in the NWT Legislative Assembly over language jurisdiction and language rights in the territories. The government's position at that time was summed up as follows:

> *The Hon. Richard Nerysoo, Government Leader, in a press release dated March 19, 1984, indicated that the territorial government was prepared to provide French language services in the NWT, but that rather than having it imposed from Ottawa, the GNWT would develop its own program. He also stressed that in any discussion concerning funding required by the Territories to implement bilingualism, there would have to be recognition of the North's priority requirements in the area of funding the development of aboriginal languages. (Legislative Assembly of the Northwest Territories, 1984, p. 95, the Hon. Richard Nerysoo, Government Leader)*

This compromise position of the GNWT prevailed. Bill C-26 died on the Order Paper in June 1984 and the *Languages Act, S.Y.* of the Yukon and *Official Languages Ordinance of the Northwest Territories* were enacted. In the *Official Languages Ordinance*, English and French were given equality of status in the Legislative Assembly and the court system, and communication with head or central government offices would be available in English or French where there was significant demand or where it was deemed reasonable due to the nature of the office. At the same time, the federal government agreed to assume all costs related to the provision of French language services in the NWT and also to provide funding toward the development of the Aboriginal languages. The first five-year *Canada-NWT Cooperation Agreement for French and Aboriginal Languages in the NWT* (the Cooperation Agreement) was signed in 1984. This multi-year agreement (and subsequent agreements) helped guide implementation of language policy for the next eighteen years.

In order to ensure that French language rights in the *Official Languages Ordinance* could not be diminished, the federal government amended the *Northwest Territories Act* (1985) to ensure that the GNWT could not limit any rights granted in the *Ordinance* without federal approval. The amendments, however, allow the GNWT to expand or enhance official language rights in the NWT without federal approval. Although not opposed to the guarantee of French language rights, the fact that the measure was placed in federal legislation was viewed, by northern politicians, as paternalistic (Denis Patterson, personal communication with SCOL Coordinator, B. Boutin, November 2002).

In 1985, the *Official Languages Ordinance* became the *Official Languages Act*, along with all other NWT ordinances, and will be referred to from here on as the *Act* for the purposes of this report.

Language Policy Since 1984

The latest period, post-1984, has been characterized by efforts to consolidate and implement official languages policy in the NWT and revitalize the Aboriginal and French languages in the face of steady language shift toward English. The increased assertion of francophone and Aboriginal language rights during the 1970s, based on shared (but not necessarily similar) struggles to overcome the historic dominance of the English language majority in Canada, became intertwined in the NWT in 1984 with the enactment of the *Official Languages Act*. The establishment of this *Act* was initially driven by French language rights, but formed the basis for the entrenchment, and subsequent expansion, of Aboriginal language rights within the legislative framework of the Northwest Territories. From a policy perspective, the languages became closely connected:

> *We are to deal with those two issues, the French language question and the aboriginal rights question, in our position. I think we would not deal with only the French question, have that answered and then afterwards deal with the aboriginal languages question. It has to be done in conjunction with one another, and certainly the kind of support and the position we finally present to this Assembly will be dependent on the response we get from the federal government in these two areas. (Legislative Assembly of the Northwest Territories, 1984, p. 114, the Hon. Richard Nerysoo, Government Leader)*

The enactment of the *Official Languages Act* — which gave legal recognition to English, French, and indigenous Aboriginal languages in the NWT — has resulted in considerable effort being devoted to consolidating and implementing official languages policy in the NWT. The post-1984 period has been characterized by attempts to revitalize the Aboriginal languages and provide meaningful French language services in the face of steady language shift toward English. From a policy perspective, the following initiatives have been significant during the period since the establishment of this *Act*.

The Task Force on Aboriginal Languages (1984-1986)

Immediately following the establishment of the *Official Languages Act*, the Government of the NWT set up the Task Force on Aboriginal Languages to make recommendations on how the Aboriginal languages of the north could and should be used, developed, and promoted. The Task Force did extensive research and community consultations and made a number of significant policy recommendations in its final report. It also prepared a preliminary plan for the implementation of its recommendations. The Task Force's main recommendations have been summarized as follows, with a brief comment on the impact of each recommendation.

- The Task Force recommended that the official status of the Aboriginal languages be strengthened in the *Official Languages Act*, to guarantee Aboriginal language use in the courts, in the Legislative Assembly, and when receiving essential public services such as medical and social services. The Task Force acknowledged that the priority should be to have the Aboriginal languages used extensively in the communities and regions rather than focusing on translation of government documents. This recommendation formed the basis for subsequent amendments to the Act that made the indigenous Aboriginal languages 'official languages', with defined rights within government operations, rather than 'official aboriginal languages' with only discretionary rights. This recommendation also set the tone for the subsequent establishment of 'designated' languages for each of the NWT's communities (in government language guidelines) and the recognition of regional language communities.
- The Task Force recommended that two Official Languages Commissioners be established — one for Dene and one for Inuit. This recommendation led to the subsequent amendment of the *Official Languages Act* to establish one Languages Commissioner for the NWT, at arms length from the government. The GNWT also appointed Dene and Inuit managers to senior levels within the new Department of Culture and Communications.
- The Task Force recommended that a Department of Aboriginal Languages and Culture be established. The GNWT subsequently stated that this recommendation was addressed through the establishment of the Department of Culture and Communications — which maintained responsibility for the Language Bureau (established in 1973 as the Interpreter Corps), public communications policy, and coordination of the implementation of the *Canada-NWT Cooperation Agreement for French and Aboriginal Languages in the NWT*.

- The Task Force recommended standardizing the Dene writing system. This recommendation resulted in the funding of a Dene Standardization Project that, by 1989, had established a standard orthography for the Dene languages.
- The Task Force recommended a 'genuinely bilingual education system' which would ensure that, by grade nine, students would be fluent in both their Aboriginal language and in English and/or French. This recommendation included using more appropriate teaching styles, developing Aboriginal language curriculum and resource materials, training more Aboriginal teachers, and providing Aboriginal language instruction in adult education programs and to the public at large. Although subsequent amendments to the *Education Act* provided for some strengthening of the right of communities to determine the language of instruction in NWT schools, the concept of a genuinely bilingual education system was not adopted by government. However, the recommendation did lead to the establishment and expansion of teaching and learning centres throughout the NWT, with the mandate to develop Aboriginal language curriculum and materials. These centres were largely funded through the *Canada-NWT Cooperation Agreement for French and Aboriginal languages in the NWT*. The recommendations also led to ongoing initiatives in Aboriginal language curriculum development and the training of more Aboriginal teachers and Aboriginal language instructors.
- The Task Force strongly emphasized the need for properly trained and certified interpreter/translators and need for ongoing terminology development. It also encouraged the government to continue placing interpreters at the regional and community levels, as a means to increase the delivery of services in the Aboriginal languages. These recommendations led to the expansion of the GNWT Language Bureau, the development of an interpreter/translator program, and preparation and publication of terminology manuals relating to government, health, and the justice system.
- The Task Force recommended the goal of a public service capable of delivering programs equally in English/French and the regional Aboriginal languages. This recommendation included identifying positions where bilingual skills are essential and encouraging government employees (including non-Aboriginal employees) to voluntarily learn Aboriginal languages. This recommendation led to development of a bilingual bonus policy for government staff, but did not result in professional development training for staff who wished to learn an Aboriginal language.
- The Task Force also recommended using Aboriginal place names and developing Aboriginal language resources for libraries and museums. The renaming of communities and the documenting of traditional place names became a program of the government in the late 1980s and continues to be a successful community/ government initiative, with many NWT communities and sites now utilizing Aboriginal place-names. During the 1980s, the Department of Culture and Communications prepared a series of Aboriginal language videos explaining a variety of government programs and services. These videos were placed in libraries throughout the North and could also be accessed through the appropriate government office.

- The Task Force recommended increased use of the Aboriginal languages outside of government. This included providing work and safety information in the Aboriginal languages, encouraging the federal government to utilize Aboriginal languages in service delivery, providing health care and other essential services in the appropriate languages, increasing Aboriginal language use in media, and encouraging private businesses to use Aboriginal languages where appropriate. This general recommendation resulted in airlines in the Eastern Arctic printing and providing oral safety information in Inuktitut, the provision of interpreter services at hospitals and nursing stations (although not uniformly), and targeted funding for Aboriginal broadcasting. Subsequent NWT and Yukon initiatives led to the establishment of Television Northern Canada (TVNC), which eventually became the Aboriginal Peoples' Television Network, the first Aboriginal television network in the world to broadcast a high volume of indigenous programming.

The Task Force on Aboriginal Languages (1986) report provided some clear advice for government and other agencies regarding consolidation and implementation of the *Official Languages Act* and resulted in better coordination and rapid expansion of Aboriginal language services throughout the North. The report was an important milestone with respect to Aboriginal language policy in the NWT.

The *Canada-NWT Cooperation Agreements for French and Aboriginal Languages in the NWT* and Subsequent Reviews

The *Official Languages Act* of 1984 provided a legislative framework for the establishment of equality of status between English and French, and for the advancement of equality of status of the official Aboriginal languages, within government. However, no regulations have been established and no policy was established to guide its implementation until 1997. Implementation of the *Act* has been guided by the *Canada-NWT Cooperation Agreement for French and Aboriginal Languages in the NWT*, which was first signed in 1984 for a two-year period. Further agreements were signed in 1986, 1991, 1994, 1997, and 2000.

The Cooperation Agreement itself has been influenced by various government recommendations and policies and by the recommendations of three formal reviews of the Agreement, carried out in 1990, 1993, and 1996 respectively. The most recent of these reviews, the Lutra Associates Ltd. report (1996), incorporated information from the two previous reviews and provided an overview of expenditures and activities during the life of the Agreement.

The first Cooperation Agreement (1984) provided $5.0 million over two years and committed $11.0 million over a further three-year period for Aboriginal language development, and also provided $7.8 million over five years for French language services. (Separate funding for French language education also continued through Canadian Heritage.) According to the 1984 Agreement, federal funding was provided "toward the preservation and development of aboriginal languages and the enhancement of services in the official aboriginal languages of the Northwest Territories" and for "provision of services to the public in French and the costs

SCOL members at a Welsh community television set in Wales, November 2001.

involved with the implementation of French as an official language in the Northwest Territories." In spite of this Agreement, federal funding for French language services was not made available to the GNWT until 1986 (Lutra Associates Ltd., 1996, p. 21).

In 1986, following the release of the Task Force on Aboriginal Languages report, the objectives of the Cooperation Agreement regarding Aboriginal languages became more specific and reflected some of the Task Force's recommendations. The objectives of the 1986 Agreement stated the need to:

- Enable the Aboriginal people of the Northwest Territories to communicate and receive services from the government in their own language
- Provide the Aboriginal residents of the Northwest Territories, where numbers warrant, with the opportunity to be taught their own language in schools
- Develop the aboriginal languages to the standard where they can be recognized and used as the working languages of the Territories (Government of Canada & Government of the Northwest Territories, 1986, p. 2).

Due to delays in accessing funding and subsequent lapses in funding, the 1984 and 1986 agreements, which were originally intended to cover a five-year period in total, were extended through to 1991.

From 1984 through 1991, the major Aboriginal language initiatives funded through the Agreement included language research and standardization, expanding the Language Bureau (interpreter/translator services), and program initiatives in the areas of Aboriginal language curriculum and resource development, community programs, legal and medical interpreting, and the territorial media. "Of the $16.0 million allocated for Aboriginal languages, the main expenses were in the areas of interpretation/translation services [the Language Bureau] ($5.9 million); teaching and learning centres ($3.7 million); and training and teacher education ($3.6 million)" (Lutra Associates Ltd., 1996, p. 20). As can be seen from these figures, the majority of the funding during this period was used to provide government programs and services. However, this varied by year, and over the five-year life of the first Agreement, approximately $0.6 million went to community projects and another $0.5 million to support Aboriginal language media productions. These initiatives reflected recommendations made by the 1986 Task Force on Aboriginal Languages.

During the period 1986 through 1991, of the $7.8 million allocated for the French language, a total of $7.2 million was spent on the implementation, delivery, and administration of government services in French. Approximately 50% of this went to the Department of Culture and Communications to support French language services within the Language Bureau and another 25% went to the Department of Justice for translations of legal documents.

A 1990 review of the impact of the Cooperation Agreement acknowledged the importance of the Agreement for Aboriginal language development but also identified the need to provide an increased level of government services in the Aboriginal languages in the regions and communities; the urgent need for a fully trained and certified corps of legal and medical interpreters; and the need for further language research and development. The review also noted that the Department of Education "hopes to provide more extensive educational programs in aboriginal languages; to develop more extensive curricula in aboriginal languages; and to train more teachers to teach in aboriginal languages" (Department of Culture and Communications, 1990a, p. 19).

In 1991, the Agreement objectives for the Aboriginal languages became rather general: to develop, maintain and revitalize Aboriginal language use in the home, school and community and to provide Aboriginal language services. A further objective was to encourage dialogue and promote understanding among the linguistic communities of the NWT. These objectives were carried through to the 1994 Agreement. (Government of Canada & Government of the Northwest Territories, 1991, 1994).

The 1991 Agreement objectives for French language funding were expanded to provide access to quality services in French, to support the development and vitality of the francophone community, and to improve the provision of governmental services and contribute to the development of the francophone community (Government of Canada & Government of Northwest Territories, 1991, p. 2).

From 1991 through 1994, $17.3 million was initially allocated for Aboriginal language development and $12.3 million was allocated for French language services. However, in 1992 -1993, funding for the Agreement was reduced by 10% by the federal government and further cuts were announced for subsequent years.

During this 1991 to 1994 period, the largest expenditures on Aboriginal language development were interpreter/translator services provided through the Language Bureau ($3.6 million); training and teacher education ($4.4 million); teaching and learning centres ($4.1 million). Of these three major areas, the Language Bureau funding dropped by approximately 38% over the period of the previous Agreement and there was a significant increase in grants for community-based language enhancement projects. The community projects budget doubled from the previous Agreement period to $1.2 million. This shift reflected a more general shift in government policy in order to increase the involvement of communities in programming activities. Other language initiatives that received increased funding included Aboriginal language media and broadcasting, terminology development, literacy awareness, and day-care.

A 1993 review of the Cooperation Agreement emphasized the need to involve the official language communities in the development and delivery of language programming.

During the 1991 to 1994 Agreement, government services in French were expanded, particularly in the areas of signage, advertising, and interpreter services in hospitals. As well, consistent with the trend for Aboriginal languages, funding was provided to the French language community to stimulate francophone social and cultural development and foster language development outside of government. A total of $7.5 million was spent on government services and approximately $0.9 million on community-based programming.

A 1993 review of the Cooperation Agreement emphasized the need to involve the official language communities in the development and delivery of language programming. It noted that "Resource allocation and program delivery seem to many key stakeholders to be more government driven than user driven" (New Economy Development Group, 1993, p. 3). It also emphasized the need for established standards of service, strengthening of local capacity, strategic planning for each of the Aboriginal languages, and transfer for responsibility of program delivery to the language communities. Significantly, it also noted that "There is some indication that the implementation of language services and programs is not perceived as an important priority given its potential implications in terms of increased workload and the limited availability of government funds" (p. 2).

The recommendation for greater community involvement was echoed by the Department of Education, Culture and Employment (ECE) in *People: Our Focus for the Future — A Strategy to 2010.* Strategic objective # 1 in this document is "To improve support to communities to achieve their culture, heritage, and language goals" by "[distributing] cultural funding equitably to regions, so that communities can be more involved in its allocation" (ECE, 1994, p. 31).

At the time of the Lutra Associates Ltd. (1996) review of the Cooperation Agreements, the 1995 Agreement was still in effect: it covered the period 1994 through 1997. Although it was not possible for Lutra Associates Ltd. to summarize the activities and expenditures for the full Agreement period, the trend away from interpreter/translator services and toward community-based programming and project funding for the Aboriginal languages continued. However, the major areas of expenditure continued to be on teaching and learning centres and teacher education, through the Department of Education, Culture and Employment. "Under the current Agreement, approximately 91% of the [Aboriginal language] budget is allocated to the Department of Education, Culture and Employment and 68% of these funds are disbursed to regional boards of education and other educational institutions" (Lutra Associates Ltd., 1996, p. 21).

The 1994 Cooperation Agreement allocated $6.8 million for the provision of government services in French and $0.8 million for cultural and social development within the francophone community. During this period, funding for translation services, including legal translation, was reduced.

The Lutra Associates Ltd. (1996) review included the following key policy-related recommendations:

- The Cooperation Agreement should be continued
- Support for French and Aboriginal languages must be better planned and coordinated and must encourage community responsibility and involvement
- Language resources and decision-making must be put in the hands of the language communities, through some form of regional process, and with capacity building support.

These recommendations were consistent with recommendations made in the New Economy Development Group (1993) review and in the ECE (1994) Strategy, and were also consistent with a general government trend toward decentralization of services. The recommendations were reflected in the 1997 Cooperation Agreement and helped form the basis for the regional language planning and program delivery initiatives that began in earnest in 1998-1999. In the 1997 Agreement, the objective: "To provide for increased community ownership of language responsibilities" was added. As well, more emphasis was placed on delivering and maintaining language 'programs' rather than 'services' (Government of Canada & Government of the Northwest Territories, 1997). More funding was allocated to community-based language initiatives.

The 1997 Agreement objectives for French now included the objective: "To provide for the administrative and policy support required under the *Official Languages Act* of the Northwest Territories." This objective coincided with the GNWT's development and approval of the *Official Languages Policy* (Government of the Northwest Territories, 1997a) and *Official Languages Guidelines Manual* (Government of the Northwest Territories, 1997b).

The most recent Cooperation Agreement (1999) will be addressed later in the chapter. The current Agreement has a detailed Action Plan attached as an appendix, which expands on the general objectives of the main Agreement.

Although the objectives of the Cooperation Agreements over the years have shifted somewhat to reflect both recommendations and trends relating to implementation of the *Official Languages Act*, these objectives remained very general for many years. As a part of an intergovernmental agreement, these objectives provided a significant source of direction for GNWT with respect to implementation of the *Official Languages Act*, in the absence of other policy direction. Moreover, other government studies, reports, and legislation have influenced GNWT policy and programming also with respect to official languages.

Amendment to the *Jury Act* (1988)

Consistent with the general tone of the report of the Task Force on Aboriginal Languages (1986), the Minister of Justice of the NWT tabled Bill 5-86 (1), an Act to Amend the Jury Act, in the Legislative Assembly in 1986. The Minister stated that:

> *In the Northwest Territories aboriginal people are in the majority and in the majority of cases aboriginal people are the accused. If we are to recognize the principle that a person is entitled to be tried by his or her peers, then surely we must do all that we can to make it possible in the Northwest Territories for aboriginal persons to sit on a jury. (Committee on Law Reform , 1987, p. 1)*

The amendment allows a person who is unilingual in one of the official Aboriginal languages to serve as a juror in any action or proceeding that may be tried by a jury in the Northwest Territories. This language right made interpretation services a requirement in some court proceedings, and led to greater efforts to train and certify potential interpreters in all of the official Aboriginal languages of the NWT. The amendments came into effect in 1988. Effective and professional legal interpretation continues to be an issue of concern to the courts and is addressed further in Chapter 6 of this report.

Studies on French Language

The Task Force on Aboriginal Languages provided clear direction for government with respect to implementing the Aboriginal language objectives of the *Official Languages Act*. In order to clarify direction with respect to the French language, the government contracted out the development of a French language implementation plan to Michel Bastarache in 1986. His report contained 298 recommendations. However:

> *Only a fraction of the 298 recommendations made by the author, Michel Bastarache, to the territorial government were implemented. This was primarily due to the nature of the recommendations, which aimed to recreate the existing federal administration in Ottawa for the Territories in order to comply with federal language obligations. This approach did not take the demographic, political, geographic and financial realities of the Canadian North into account. Based on a legalistic and idealistic approach to the equality of the two official languages, its goal was to achieve this objective immediately — a monumental task for such a small government. (Mathieu, 1999, p. 8)*

As noted by Mathieu, few of the Bastarache recommendations were implemented and the Legislative Assembly did not adopt the report.

In 1989, the government established an Advisory Committee on French Language Services, working closely with la Fédération Franco-TéNOise. A study team toured NWT communities to assess the condition of the French language and develop a prioritized list of basic services. The priorities established through this process included:

- Establishing an independent French language school board
- Providing increased access to French language medical services throughout the NWT
- Increasing French language media services, subsidizing community-based radio, and supporting French language newspapers
- Establishing a French-language 1-800 information line
- Ensuring that each government department has at least one francophone providing public services.

As a result of this Advisory Committee, the francophone newspaper *L'Aquilon* (established in 1986) was utilized more for government advertising; a 1-800 French language service line was implemented in 1991; and French language interpreter services were established at three NWT hospitals. French first language programming for primary school began in Yellowknife in 1989 and a French territorial school board was established a decade later.

Amendments to the *Official Languages Act*

The 1986 Task Force on Aboriginal Languages had recommended amendments to the *Official Languages Act*, primarily to strengthen Aboriginal language rights and establish a Languages Commissioner for the NWT. In 1989, the Legislative Assembly of the Northwest Territories established the Special Committee on Aboriginal Languages, with the mandate to review and redraft existing legislation, review the status of the Cooperation Agreement, and prepare an implementation plan for use of the Aboriginal languages.

The Committee submitted a brief report to the Legislative Assembly in April 1990. The report recommended that the Department of Culture and Communications negotiate a new five-year Cooperation Agreement. In the report, the Committee acknowledged that it did not have the time or resources to develop an implementation plan, so it turned responsibility for this task over to the Department. The Committee Report did include draft amendments to the *Official Languages Act*. The proposed amendments were significant and were clearly linked to earlier recommendations made by the Task Force on Aboriginal Languages. These proposed amendments, with some modifications, were passed into law in 1990, but some provisions did not come into effect immediately.

Whereas the Aboriginal languages had been identified separately in the *Act* as official aboriginal languages, they were now included in the list of official languages along with French and English. The Aboriginal languages were given equality of status within all institutions of the Legislative Assembly and Government of the Northwest Territories, as defined in the *Act* and any subsequent regulations. In the amended *Act*, the number of official languages effectively increased by the fact that Inuktitut, by definition, now included Inuvialuktun and Inuinnaqtun; and Slavey now included, by definition, both North and South Slavey.

The Aboriginal languages gained equality of status within the territorial court system, with the provision that court proceedings will only be interpreted for the public when it is of public interest to do so. Written translations of decisions are not required, but sound recordings of judgements may be made in the Aboriginal languages where requested, where deemed practical, and where deemed of general public interest.

Part III of the amended *Act* created the position of Languages Commissioner and also established the terms and conditions of this office. The duties of the Languages Commissioner varied from those proposed by the Task Force on Aboriginal Languages. The Task Force had recommended a broad language promotion and development role for the Commissioner, but the new legislation effectively defined the Commissioner's role as one of monitoring government compliance with the provisions, spirit, and intent of the *Act* and functioning as "a linguistic ombudsman for people who have complaints that their linguistic rights are not being upheld" (Office of the Languages Commissioner of the NWT, 1993, p. 1). The first Languages Commissioner was appointed in 1992 for a four-year term. Two other Commissioners have been appointed since then.

The amended *Act* also added a provision that the administration, operation, and implementation of the *Act* be reviewed after ten years. This provision mandated the establishment of the Special Committee on the Review of the *Official Languages Act* in 2000 and the preparation of this report.

Languages Commissioner Reports

As required by legislation, the Languages Commissioner of the NWT has prepared and submitted an annual report to the Legislative Assembly since 1993. Most of these annual reports have included recommendations regarding policy changes to strengthen and provide clearer interpretation of the *Official Languages Act*. In some instances, these recommendations have been acted upon; in other cases, recommendations have been put forward over a number of years without an active response from the government.

The *First Annual Report of the Languages Commissioner* of the Northwest Territories (Office of the Languages Commissioner of the NWT, 1993) provided a thorough overview of the status of the languages in the NWT, language shift, and the foundations of language rights. It contained an explanation and analysis of the *Official Languages Act* and provided an overview of the role and activities of the Languages Commissioner office. Of the report's 30 recommendations, the policy-related recommendations fell into three categories: changes to the *Act*, clarification of the *Act* through regulation or official policies, and access to services. The most significant of these (the ones acted upon or carried forward as recommendations in subsequent years) are summarized as follows, along with brief comments on their status.

- The Legislative Assembly should establish a Standing Committee on Official Languages through legislation, that the Languages Commissioner and Official Languages Unit could report to.
- The Legislative Assembly should clarify the intended scope of the Act with respect to the Languages Commissioner's access to documents, reporting relationships, the ability to deal with employee complaints regarding language issues, language of work, document translation, and the application of the Act to government institutions, contractors, and agencies delivering government services. The Legislative Assembly should provide this clarification through regulations, policies, and operational guidelines that would be provided to the public.

  No regulations have been developed to accompany the *Act*. In 1997, an *Official Languages Policy* was established (and amended in 1998) to clarify reporting relationships and application of the Act. In 1997, an *Official Languages Guidelines Manual* was published to provide guidelines for implementation of official language services.
- The GNWT should review implementation procedures relating to active offer, promoting bilingualism among staff, access to services, internal interpreter/translator (I/T) services, allocation and monitoring of language funds, and staff language training.

> The issues of active offer and access to service were initially addressed by the government in 1997 through the Official Languages Guidelines. Bilingual bonuses have remained in place but active efforts to promote a bilingual staff through language training have not occurred. The issues of I/T services and allocation and monitoring of funds will be discussed in the section below on reorganization of official languages responsibilities.

Recommendations not acted upon have tended to be carried forward each year. During the term of the second Languages Commissioner, the main recommendations focused on developing a promotional plan for the official languages; developing an implementation plan and accountability framework; and ensuring that the concept of active offer was followed in all GNWT documents. The 1998 report included the highlighted comment:

> *Please be advised that these recommendations are [carried over] from the 1996-1997 Annual Report (Office of the Languages Commissioner of the NWT, 1997). The Languages Commissioner has yet to hear from the Legislative Assembly on whether the above noted recommendations have been accepted or rejected. If they are accepted, the Languages Commissioner wishes to know how the Legislative Assembly will implement them (Office of the Languages Commissioner of the NWT, 1999, p. 25).*

The current Languages Commissioner has recommended that the role of the Commissioner shift from responding to inquiries and complaints to that of "Advocacy, Research, and Monitoring initiatives" (Office of the Languages Commissioner of the NWT, 2001, p. 2). The role, responsibilities, and effectiveness of the Office of the Languages Commissioner are discussed further in Chapter 6.

Governmental Reorganization of the Official Languages Responsibilities

The GNWT's organizational structure for managing official languages funds and activities has changed several times since the establishment of the *Official Languages Act* and the signing of Canada-NWT Cooperation Agreements. As mentioned earlier, based on the recommendations of the Task Force on Aboriginal Languages, the Department of Culture and Communications was formed in the mid-1980s from the former Department of Information (along with other services, including community library services). The Department of Culture and Communications had been responsible for negotiating and administering the Cooperation Agreement and also housed the Language Bureau, which provided Aboriginal and French interpreting, translation and public information services to the departments and agencies of government.

In 1991, community and government delegates at an Aboriginal Languages Conference recommended that all departments develop policies for delivering their services in the official languages. This recommendation coincided with a general downsizing and restructuring of government departments based on recommendations in the report, *Strength at Two Levels*,

Facilitator Georgina Fabian at the Second Territorial Languages Assembly, Hay River (K atl odeeche) Dene Reserve, October 2002.

Government of the Northwest Territories (1991). In 1992, the Department of Culture and Communications was disbanded and its responsibilities were placed under the new Department of Education, Culture and Employment (ECE). At the same time, a new Official Languages Unit (OLU) was established, located in the Department of the Executive, with the mandate to develop the *Official Languages Policy* for the GNWT (1997a). The OLU was also given responsibility for coordinating language initiatives, negotiating and implementing language agreements, and responding to the recommendations of the Languages Commissioner. ECE became the lead agency with respect to interpretation and translation services as well as the coordination of language programs in the schools. These two ECE activities accounted for the major share of the federal and GNWT Cooperation Agreement funding.

Later in 1992, the government carried out an operational review of the Language Bureau. This review recommended the redeploying of interpreter/translator (I/T) funds to provide more regional services (through a regional manager accountability framework) and to better support language preservation and enhancement strategies. The Language Bureau took on the lead role of coordinating language-related services within the new Department of Education, Culture and Employment.

Over the next few years, the GNWT began to identify ways to transfer greater responsibility for program and service delivery to regions and communities. This trend continued the general downsizing and restructuring of the government — to increase efficiency and give greater control and responsibility to communities. The Community Transfer initiative of 1994 and Community Empowerment initiative of 1996 were results of this new approach. As noted earlier, the 1994 ECE Strategic Plan and the 1996 Lutra Associates Ltd. report recommended that language resources and decision-making be put in the hands of the language communities, through some form of regional process. At the same time, a report entitled *Aboriginal Language Community Consultations: A New Approach to Aboriginal Language Research, Development and Promotion*, Genesis Group (1996), recommended that language funding be devolved to the Aboriginal language communities through a formula funding arrangement.

Based on these recommendations, in June 1996, the Executive Council directed that the Language Bureau funding be transferred to GNWT departments and agencies. A Financial Management Board Record of Decision dated June 5, 1997 approved the reorganization of the Language Bureau as of July 1, 1997. It directed the transfer of Language Bureau funding to departments and agencies in the amount of $0.7 million in 1997/98 and $0.9 million in 1998/99, for official Aboriginal language services. The final transfer was a permanent amount. It also directed that $0.06 million be transferred to the Dogrib Community Services Board and that the remaining funds ($0.5 million) be combined with ECE funding for language development and transferred to the Aboriginal language communities. A subsequent Executive Council decision of June 5, 1997 approved the transfer of the responsibilities of the Official Languages Unit to ECE. The Financial Management Board approved a corresponding fund transfer in January of 1998. At the time of the Language Bureau closure, 91% of the expenditures for official Aboriginal language translation services and 73% of the expenditures for Aboriginal language interpreter services were used for Inuktitut.

These executive decisions effectively privatized Aboriginal interpreter/translator services in the NWT. At this time, twenty positions were eliminated. A list of private interpreter/ translators was maintained and distributed to departments and official languages coordinators were identified in most departments (most of whom took on this responsibility as an addition to their primary job). The issue of privatization of French translation services was deferred. Just prior to the closure of the Language Bureau, in March 1996, the GNWT French language service 1-800 line was eliminated, even though a previous Languages Commissioner had recommended that this type of service be expanded to include the Aboriginal languages (Office of the Languages Commissioner of the NWT, 1993, p. 168).

In 1997, the GNWT (1997a) (1997b) published the *Official Languages Policy* and an *Official Languages Guidelines Manual*. The manual, which provided direction to departments regarding the delivery of services in the official languages, included guidelines relating to active offer, service delivery, translating of public information, forms, government advertising, and signage. It also designated which official languages were to be used in each of the communities of the NWT and which offices should be providing official languages services in the Aboriginal languages and French.

The policy was amended in 1998 to transfer responsibilities regarding official languages programs and services from the Official Languages Unit to the Minister of Education, Culture, and Employment. At this time, the Official Languages Unit was disbanded. This effectively made the ECE Minister fully accountable to the Executive Council for the coordination of all aspects of official language programming, including negotiation and implementation of the Cooperation Agreement and delivery of language services. The policy also designated which government agencies fell under the *Official Languages Act*.

In order to implement the policy, ECE formed a new division — Culture, Heritage, and Languages — headed by a Director and including a Language Services Section. The Language Services Program staff consisted of a Manager, a French Language Coordinator, an Aboriginal Languages Coordinator, and French translators. Other departmental Ministers became responsible for delivering official languages services within their own departments and agencies. ECE maintained responsibility for coordinating official languages meetings and compiling the government's annual activity report, which is a requirement of the *Canada-NWT Cooperation Agreement for French and Aboriginal Languages in the NWT.*

… ECE began a process of transferring a significant amount of language funding directly to the Aboriginal language communities …

As a part of the overall change in language implementation policy, ECE began a process of transferring a significant amount of language funding directly to the Aboriginal language communities through contribution agreements. This process is discussed in more detail in the 'Current Language Policy Framework' section below.

Education Act (1976, 1988, and 1996)

The *1976 Education Act (Ordinance)* of the Northwest Territories contained a provision that local education councils could determine the language of instruction for kindergarten to grade two in NWT schools, with Ministerial approval. This provision was utilized to a greater extent in the Eastern Arctic than in the Western Arctic and only in communities with a predominantly Aboriginal population. In some communities, the provision caused some dissension among local education authorities (LEAs), where certain members of the community, and the LEAs, wanted Aboriginal first language or immersion instruction and others did not. As well, the development of language curriculum and resources was not consistent and, although innovative language teaching strategies were tried in some communities throughout the late 1970s and early 1980s, tended to be dependent on the commitment of individuals rather than on clear policy directions (Colbourne, 2002, p. 6).

French minority language rights had been granted through the *Official Languages Act* of Canada in 1969 and were further entrenched in the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* in 1982. The federal government began funding French language schooling in the NWT in 1972. However, most of this instruction was provided as an elective. Based on rights guaranteed through the *Charter*, French first language classes for the primary grades began in 1989 in Yellowknife. In 1996, the French First Language Education Regulations were added to the *Education Act R.S.N.W.T. 1995, c. 28*. These regulations provide, as required under the *Charter*, for the establishment of French first language programming in NWT schools, based on the number of children with French language rights within a particular school district. The regulations also allow francophone parents to govern French first language programming through the establishment of a *comité de parents francophones* and, subsequently, a *conseil scolaire francophone*. Section 84 of the *Act* also provides for the establishment of a *commission scolaire francophone de division. Conseils scolaire francophone* were established in Yellowknife in 1997 and Hay River in 2000. A *commission scolaire francophone de division* governing French first language programming in the NWT was established in 2000. French is also offered as an elective subject in elementary schools in the larger communities and is an accredited high school course.

Amendments to the *Education Act* in 1988 established divisional education councils (DECs). The intent of these amendments was to provide more decision-making authority and flexibility at the regional level. These 1988 amendments did not, however, directly address language issues, other than to give authority to the DECs to choose the language of instruction for schools, within departmental guidelines.

In 1996, a new *Education Act R.S.N.W.T. 1995, c. 28* was introduced that included provisions intended to strengthen language programming. The Act contains the following language and cultural provisions:

- The Preamble recognizes the relationship between language, culture and learning and states the " … belief … " that school programs " … must be based on the cultures of the Northwest Territories."
- Section 59 allows education authorities to hire Aboriginal language instructors who are not certified teachers as long as the person is fluent in their language, passes a language proficiency test, and receives " …orientation in teaching methods."
- Section 70 of the *Act* confirms that the language of instruction must be an official language and allows education districts to provide instruction in more than one official language. Section 71 gives District Education Authorities the authority to determine the language of instruction in schools, as long as there is significant demand, a sufficient number of fluent teachers, and sufficient and suitable materials.

- Section 73 states that where the language of instruction is not English, English must also be taught, and where English is the language of instruction, another official language must be taught.

During the 1990s, the Department devoted considerable Cooperation Agreement funding to the development of curricula for grades K through 9. Implementation of the Dene Kede or Inuuqatigiit curricula is now required in all NWT schools, although many schools have had difficulty implementing the curricula. The curricula appear to be more cultural curricula than language curricula per se. Given the important link between language and the education system, the Special Committee has dealt with this issue in more detail in Chapter 6 of this report.

Opération Polaroïd

In 1999, consistent with its objectives under the federal Cooperation Agreement and through ongoing lobbying from the francophone community, the GNWT funded la Fédération Franco-TéNOise (FFT) to study the delivery of French language services in the various agencies and departments of the government. This study is referred to as *Opération Polaroïd Territoires du Nord-Ouest* (Nadeau, Beaulieu et Associé.e.s, 1999). In its report, the FFT noted that:

- 98% of government offices did not make an active offer in French
- 86% of front-line staff could not communicate in French
- 58% of requests for information had to be made in English
- Only 40% of formal requests for information were eventually provided in French.

Based on the results of this study, the FFT, at its annual general assembly, made the decision to take the federal and territorial governments and their officers to court on the basis that neither the federal or territorial governments were fulfilling their obligations under sections 16 and 20 of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* and Part VII of Canada's *Official Languages Act*. The action was filed in federal court. After a complex set of court proceedings regarding jurisdictional issues, the Federal Court of Appeal ruled that the GNWT is not, by legal definition, a federal institution, and that the federal courts therefore did not have jurisdiction to rule on this specific action (*Fédération Franco-TéNOise v. Canada (C.A.), [2001] 3 F.C. 641*).

In 2000, the Association Franco-Culturelle de Yellowknife approached the GNWT to conduct a feasibility study for a multi-use cultural centre that would include provision of government services in French. This study was completed in August 2001 and is currently being reviewed.

Summary of the Current Language Policy Framework and Directions

The following two sections summarize the legislation and policy that is now operative and provide an update on recent directions and dynamics in NWT official languages policy and program development.

Legislation and Policies

The *Official Languages Act* is the primary legislation defining and governing official language rights and services in the NWT. The *Official Languages Policy* (1997a) provides a basic accountability framework for the government and the *Official Languages Guidelines Manual* (1997b) provides some clarification of government's intent with respect to service delivery. Annual budgets and departmental program and service plans, approved by the Legislative Assembly each year, also provide implementation direction.

The *Education Act* has provisions for Aboriginal language instruction in the schools, as long as there is significant demand, a sufficient number of fluent teachers, and sufficient and suitable materials — which tend to be limiting conditions. The *Act*, along with French language regulations, allows for French language schooling to be governed and delivered through francophone school boards, consistent with the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*.

The *Jury Act* continues to allow anyone who can speak any one of the official languages to be a juror, but this has recently led to concerns about access to and the quality of interpreter/translator services. A number of other NWT *Acts* contain general language provisions and these will be discussed further in Chapter 6.

Recent Strategic Policy Directions

Beginning in 1997, based on previous recommendations and on the general policy of the government to transfer program and service delivery to communities, the GNWT has taken steps to directly involve language communities in language revitalization initiatives. This direction was stated in the objectives of the 1997 *Canada-NWT Cooperation Agreement for French and Aboriginal Languages in the NWT* and was further elaborated in the 1999 Cooperation Agreement, which stated that the purpose of the Agreement is to "provide for the development and implementation of language revitalization, maintenance, and enhancement activities by the Aboriginal language communities (Government of Canada & Government of the Northwest Territories, 1999, p. 2).

Although both the 1997 and 1999 Agreements included objectives relating to support for community development initiatives by the francophone community, the objectives of the Agreements continued to focus on the delivery of French language services by government. The 1999 Cooperation Agreement, for the first time, included separate Action Plans for French and the Aboriginal languages, which provided more detail regarding expected language activities and outcomes.

Based upon consultations with communities, strategic planning decisions, and the objectives of the Cooperation Agreement, the Department of Education, Culture, and Employment (ECE) met with representatives of the Aboriginal language communities to determine a process for flowing funds through to the respective language communities. Three main decisions were made. First, the funds would be routed through the regional land claims organizations (in the case of the South Slave/Akaitcho region, the Chipewyan funds were routed through the Akaitcho Tribal Council and the Cree funds through the South Slave Métis Tribal Council). Second, the funds would be distributed on a formula basis, which included a base allocation plus an additional allocation based on population. Third, each language community would be initially funded to prepare a five-year strategic plan that would guide subsequent funding decisions.

All of the Aboriginal language communities completed their strategic plans over a period of approximately eighteen months and have been receiving funding since 2000, through standard GNWT contribution agreements. Funding has been based on the implementation of these strategic plans. Language Services Section staff began to organize annual meetings of all of the language communities to report on their activities, share resources, and discuss cooperative projects. The Language Services Section staff in consultation with the language communities has also designed an evaluation process which meets the GNWT's obligation to ensure full accountability to the Financial Management Board Secretariat (FMBS) and to the federal government under the Cooperation Agreement.

Through this funding arrangement, approximately 50% of the Cooperation Agreement funding for Aboriginal languages (which totals approximately $1.9 million per year), flows directly to the Aboriginal language communities, while the remainder is used to support five regional teaching and learning centres, Aboriginal broadcasting, terminology development, and language planning and promotion. Approximately 91% of the French language funding of $1.6 million stays with the GNWT for French language service delivery and administration. The process of service delivery for French is currently under negotiation with the francophone community; these discussions revolve around the establishment of a centralized French language service centre similar to service centre models established in some provinces.

The Department of Education, Culture, and Employment (2001d) recently prepared an overall strategic document regarding the *Aboriginal languages: Revitalizing, Enhancing, and Promoting Aboriginal Languages — Strategies for Supporting Aboriginal Languages*. This document establishes key departmental principles regarding the Aboriginal languages:

- Aboriginal languages and cultures will be the foundation for the delivery of GNWT programs and services
- Primary responsibility for language survival rests with individuals, families, and the language communities
- Responsibility and authority for the delivery of language programs and services will, to the greatest extent possible, be devolved to the Aboriginal language communities

- The role of government is to support the Aboriginal language communities to achieve their respective goals.

The main goals outlined in this strategy include:

- Supporting regional and community-based language initiatives by providing funds and administrative support
- Promoting the value of the official Aboriginal languages through the media, literacy initiatives, promotional activities, and official recognition of traditional place names
- Creating a supportive educational environment by supporting culturally relevant early childhood programs, developing and implementing culturally relevant curricula, supporting Aboriginal language literacy activities, and delivering Aboriginal language instruction from grades K through 12
- Providing reasonable access to government services in the Aboriginal languages through policy implementation, establishing departmental implementation plans, and certifying interpreter/translators.

The need for Aboriginal language literacy is also reflected in the ECE (2001e) document *Towards Literacy: A Strategy Framework*. This document expresses the need to respect the diversity of cultures and languages in the NWT and establishes the goal of promoting and supporting literacy in all of the NWT's official languages.

At the present time, a self-government agreement is being negotiated with the Inuvialuit and Gwich'in in the Beaufort-Delta region and a comprehensive land claims agreement that contains self-government provisions is being finalized with the Dogrib people. Both agreements address language and cultural rights specific to their beneficiaries. Other Aboriginal groups in the NWT are also in the process of negotiating self-government agreements that will likely address language and cultural issues. These are important policy developments. Further analysis of the impact of these self-government agreements is presented in chapter 6.

Observations and Conclusions

The Special Committee has studied the history and current application of language policy with great interest and concern, based on the belief that one of the main ways we demonstrate the value of languages is to protect and support them through legislative and policy initiatives. Based on this review of our own language policy history, the Committee has the made the following observations and conclusions:

1. The Committee believes that current language policy must acknowledge the fact that, for many years, the explicit policy of the federal government was to assimilate Aboriginal people into mainstream society. This policy has resulted in a significant loss of language and culture practices among all Aboriginal groups in the NWT. Current language policies should be structured to recognize these historic losses and fully support language and cultural revitalization activities, with Aboriginal peoples playing a lead role in all language initiatives.

   Although responsibility for language preservation rightfully belongs to the Aboriginal language communities, the formal transfer of this responsibility should not negate the overwhelming responsibility of governments, both federal and territorial, and society generally, to recognize past injustices caused by previous government policies and practices.

2. The Committee believes that current language policies must acknowledge the fact that French Canadians have had to struggle for many years to maintain French language and cultural integrity within Canada and that francophones have the constitutional right to receive French language services in the NWT. Both the federal and territorial governments must work more closely with the francophone community to establish efficient and practical means to deliver French language services.

3. The Committee finds that the establishment of the *Official Languages Act* was a major step forward in recognizing the language rights of all of the language communities of the NWT. The subsequent establishment of the *Official Languages Policy* and *Official Languages Guidelines Manual* provided some guidance regarding the implementation of these rights. But definition and clarification of these rights — and some of the provisions of the *Act* itself — would be aided through amendments to the *Act* and the establishment of official languages regulations. Establishing clearer legal accountability for the *Act* is also essential.

4. The Committee believes that a formal official languages implementation plan for the GNWT would strengthen accountability within government departments and would provide clearer policy direction for all language stakeholders. The Committee notes that although the use and impact of federal funding through the Canada-NWT Cooperation

Agreement has been regularly monitored and independently evaluated, the use and impact of GNWT funding for languages does not appear to have been independently evaluated since the establishment of the *Official Languages Act.*

5. The *Education Act,* in conjunction with French language regulations, allows francophone parents to petition for and establish French first language programs, where numbers warrant, and ensures that the resources to deliver those programs will be provided. The approval process for Aboriginal first language instruction requires significant demand in the education district, sufficient number of fluent teachers and sufficient and suitable school program materials in the language. The Committee finds that this places Aboriginal parents and students in a difficult situation, where programs will not be offered because the resources do not exist, but the resources will not be developed because the programs are not required. Mechanisms must be found to make Aboriginal first language and immersion programs in the schools more easily accessible to those parents who want them.

6. The Committee believes that the operative policy of the GNWT should be to continue expanding the involvement of language communities in the governance and management of language programs and services and that mechanisms must be established to formalize this link beyond the current contribution-agreement arrangement.

7. The Committee believes that the Canada-NWT Cooperation Agreement has provided a catalyst for the expansion of official languages programs and services in the NWT and that this Agreement should continue in the foreseeable future. The Committee believes that formal evaluations of the impact of this Agreement should continue to occur on a regular basis.

CHAPTER 4

THE CONDITION OF OUR OFFICIAL LANGUAGES — CAUSE FOR REAL CONCERN

My dad spoke Chipewyan, Slavey, Dogrib, French, and English. He also understood a little bit of Cree. My mother could speak only four different languages — French, English, Chipewyan, and Slavey. My dad knew how to read and write in Chipewyan and he could sing in Chipewyan too.

I speak Chipewyan, Slavey, and English and I understand Dogrib and French. My children speak Chipewyan but their children only speak English. I would like my grandchildren to speak Chipewyan because we always speak Chipewyan at home. (Fort Resolution Education Authority, 1987, Albert Fabien, from Beaulieu, p. 57)

Introduction

In this chapter, the Special Committee presents and discusses, in more depth, the extent and nature of language change and language loss that has occurred throughout the NWT, particularly over the past few decades, and the current condition of each of our official languages. The Committee believes a full understanding of the trends and condition of our languages is necessary for effective planning. As well, by analyzing language data over time, we can determine the effectiveness and progress of our language initiatives and adjust them accordingly.

This chapter includes:

- An overview of the concept of language change or 'language shift' and the methods used to measure this change (along with their limitations)
- An analysis of language shift in the NWT and the current condition and trends of each of our official languages
- Observations and conclusions regarding the ongoing importance of language measurement and monitoring.

Information in this chapter has been gathered from:

- Literature relating to the theory of language shift
- Studies of language shift in Canada and other jurisdictions
- Evidence of language shift documented in northern language studies and planning documents
- Data collected by Census Canada and the NWT Bureau of Statistics.

Census Canada data has already been used in a few NWT language reports (Office of the Languages Commissioner of the NWT, 1993; Crosscurrent Associates, 1999; ECE, 2001d) and continues to provide good baseline information. The Committee has attempted to build upon information generated in previous language studies in order to gain new insights and further our understanding of language shift in the NWT.

Understanding Language Shift

The terminology used to describe changes in the structure or use of a language includes terms such as language 'obsolescence', language 'replacement', language 'shift', language 'de-acquisition', and language 'death'. The terms that have most applicability to the NWT at this time are the terms 'de-acquisition' and 'shift'. De-acquisition refers to the loss of competency or fluency in a language; for example, when the younger generation does not have as large or complex a vocabulary as elders. Shift occurs when members of a language community abandon (through duress or choice) the use of one language or dialect in favour of another. Language death is an extreme form of language shift and refers to situations where the language being abandoned is not spoken anywhere else, and may therefore be lost forever. Languages that are in danger of being lost forever are referred to as 'endangered', 'moribund', or 'dying' (Moore, 2001, pp. 60-61).

A certain amount of language change is normal and healthy and can indicate that a language is adapting to new situations. For example, the English language in use today is quite different from what is now referred to as Middle English. Aside from changes in vocabulary and spelling, many new terms have been introduced into the language, including terms borrowed from other languages and entirely new terms, such as those relating to science and technology. The use of borrowed French terms within the Dene languages to describe some trade goods is an example of a natural process of language change. But change can also indicate problems within a language:

> *When people use a language every day, they must adapt its vocabulary to a constantly changing reality. There may also be changes to the way words or sentences are formed. These are normal processes of language change. Since all of the NWT languages are changing, this is a sign that they are being used and adapted, to varying degrees, for modern usage. However, when a language changes too quickly and there are major communication problems between existing generations, or when languages begin to borrow heavily from another language, this can be a sign of vulnerability. (Office of the Languages Commissioner of the NWT, 1993, p. 11)*

Language shift, language de-acquisition, and language death are global phenomena. The two main factors that have generally contributed to these phenomena in different parts of the world over the past few centuries are:

- A rapid decrease in the number of speakers due to disease, famine, war, or other threats to physical safety
- Language change and loss through a complex process of cultural assimilation, which, in some instances, are precipitated by population decreases or by physical threats that cause migration or relocation (Crystal, 2000, pp. 70, 76).

Both of these factors have affected Aboriginal languages in Canada, particularly the long-standing process of cultural assimilation discussed in Chapter 3. Assimilation was rooted in policies of the French and English prior to Confederation, entrenched as public policy with the passing of the *Indian Act* in 1876, and accelerated during the 1950s and 1960s when Aboriginal students in unprecedented numbers were required to attend English and French language dominated schools.

Language shift, language de-acquisition, and language death are global phenomena.

Although its impact has not been fully documented (and is often overlooked), disease has had a significant impact on Aboriginal languages in Canada. It is estimated that the Aboriginal population dropped by as much as 80% during the first two centuries of European contact, due to epidemics such as smallpox, measles, and influenza (Kincade, 1991). In the north, between 1781 and 1784 "an estimated 9/10 of the Chipewyan population died" of a massive smallpox epidemic (Fumoleau, 1973, p. 320). In the 20th century, diseases such as tuberculosis and polio resulted in many Aboriginal people spending years in hospital, removed from their families, communities, cultures, and languages. As recently as the early 1960s, children from small northern communities effectively lost their language after spending their early childhood in southern hospitals (Monique Providence, personal communication with SCOL report writer, P. Redvers, March 2002).

Even though language change is a natural process, Crystal (2000) asserts that at the present time, "the world is facing a linguistic crisis of unprecedented scale" (p. viii). Language shift has been accelerating steadily over the past few hundred years and it is now estimated that 90% of the world's 6000 languages will disappear or become endangered within the next century (p. 18). Although no single reason is evident for the dramatic shift,

> *The current situation is without precedent: the world has never had so many people in it, globalization processes have never been so marked; communications*

> *and transport technologies have never been so omnipresent; there has never been so much language contact; and no language has ever exercised so much international influence as English. (p. 70)*

English is the third most common language in the world (Ethnologue, 2001), with an estimated 322 million speakers, with Spanish second at approximately 332 million speakers. The most spoken language in the world is Mandarin Chinese, with an estimated 885 million speakers. French is ranked thirteenth. However, the influence of English is very widespread, as it is the dominant language in 60 of the world's 185 countries.

English also dominates international technology and the media: "The world is now linked by electronic media … called the information highway.… Because the technology facilitating these developments originated largely in the English speaking world, not surprisingly, English has become its lingua franca" (Nettle & Romaine, 2000, p. 17). As well, a recent project of Eurescom (02 Nov 2002) found that more than 80% of the estimated 14 million websites are in English. The impact of English language technology is powerful even in those jurisdictions with relatively strong language legislation:

> *In Québec, the widespread use of microcomputers and information and communications technologies, above all the Internet, are affecting competition between the French and English languages. By increasing opportunities to use English, in particular through trade or technical and scientific communications, microcomputing is increasing the pressure that English exercises on French and jeopardizing provisions in languages legislation aimed at making French the main language of work, commerce, and business. (Commission des États généraux sur la situation et l'avenir de la langue française au Québec, 2001, p. 21)*

In the north, the impact of English language technology, particularly television, is relatively recent, but nonetheless profound:

> *I began by asking the kids about their TV viewing habits. I learned [in 1984] that although TV had come to Rae only two years before, every home now had one. About 90% of the homes also had VCRs. There was unanimous agreement that the TV sets remained turned on in the homes virtually all of the time.… I asked how many of their families were telling stories at night. There was no response. Television had apparently taken over in Rae.…*
> *(Mander, 1991, p. 114)*

Where rapid language shift appears to be occurring, linguists stress the value of accurately assessing the condition of an affected language, along with the specific factors that are causing the changes. In some instances — such as with epidemics and other rapid and dramatic population changes — it is relatively easy to identify the factors that are causing language shift, but in most cases, it is more difficult and includes a combination of factors:

> *Still missing from the contemporary literature on "endangered languages" is an anthropologically sophisticated understanding of language obsolescence and "death" as complicated social, cultural, and historical processes that usually unfold within small speech communities during periods of socioeconomic and political transformation (accompanied, virtually always, by societal bi- or multilingualism of an increasingly unstable sort). Much more ethnography needs to be done before "losses" can be properly counted, or even understood.*
>
> *(Moore, 2001, p. 62)*

Measuring Language Shift

Over the past few decades, a number of general and specific approaches have been developed to measure the condition of a language and changes in language use. These range from broad measures such as population size, dispersal, and migration, to more specific measures such as intergenerational language transmission (the extent to which children are learning the language in their homes from their parents) and individual language proficiency. Attitudes toward a particular language are also important to measure: "Fostering positive attitudes is, accordingly, one of the most important initiatives to be achieved in the task of language preservation…. Languages decline when these positive attitudes are missing" (Crystal, 2000, p. 81).

Population size (the number of speakers of a particular language) is often used as an indicator of the viability of a language, although linguists themselves debate the usefulness of this measure. This approach classifies languages with 100 to 500 speakers as quite endangered and languages with 1000 to 5000 speakers as moderately endangered. Only those languages with more than 5000 speakers are considered capable of surviving (Crowley, 2000, p. 117). Population size has been used to predict that only three of Canada's approximately fifty-three Aboriginal languages will survive into the next century: Cree, Ojibwa, and Inuktitut. However, recent sociolinguistic surveys have demonstrated very significant differences in language retention among communities, indicating that languages with a relatively small number of speakers, under certain circumstances, may be as viable as languages with more speakers (Norton & Fettes, 1994).

Two variables associated with population size are 'dispersal', the concentration of speakers in a particular geographic area, and 'migration', the trend for speakers to move to urban centres where there is often a more dominant language. In other words, the impact of a large population of speakers may be weakened if the speakers are spread over a wide area and are less likely to reinforce collective language use. Or speakers may migrate to larger urban areas where their numbers are smaller than another language group and there is more pressure to use the more dominant language. Smaller populations of speakers who are isolated from the influence of other languages are more likely to maintain their own languages. As noted in Chapter 3, the relative isolation of many northern and on-reserve Aboriginal people was likely a factor in Aboriginal language preservation up until the 1950s.

A commonly used indicator of language condition is the home language to mother tongue language ratio, which measures intergenerational language transmission. Using this type of measure, respondents are asked what language they first learned as a child and still understand (the mother tongue) and what language they now use the most in their homes. The resulting ratio is the home language to mother tongue language ratio. For example, if 100 adults learned South Slavey as their mother tongue, but only 60 now use South Slavey as the primary language at home, the home language to mother tongue ratio is 60%. These numbers indicate a rate of shift of 40% away from the mother tongue language. The home language statistic is particularly important because "One's proficiency in a language will have no effect on its transmission unless it is used at home" (Cook, 1998, p. 140). The importance of home language was emphasized in the research of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples:

> *One of the major indicators of the level of linguistic vitality is the relationship between census reports on mother tongue and those on actual language use in the home. A discrepancy between the two is indicative of the fact that a language shift is in progress, as a language that is no longer spoken in the home cannot be handed down as a mother tongue to the younger generation.*
> *(Drapeau, 1995, p. 72409)*

Most of the information regarding language shift in the NWT has come from Census Canada, which currently collects the following types of language data:

- Ability to speak English, French, or another specified language well enough to carry on a conversation
- Home language use
- Language first learned as a child and still understood (mother tongue)
- Ethnic or cultural group (self-declared)
- Identification as a North American Indian, Métis, or Inuit.

Census Canada also collects age data, which is used for cross-tabulation of intergenerational language shift. The most recent data regarding language use is for 1996.

In 1991 and 2001, Census Canada included a national Aboriginal Peoples Survey that addressed the following types of language issues:

- Ability to speak an Aboriginal language
- How this language was learned (from parents, grandparents, school, etc.)
- Use of the language (home, school, work, or other places in the community)

- Passive fluency (ability to understand but not speak the language)
- Oral fluency and literacy
- Aboriginal language service delivery
- Use of Aboriginal languages in the classroom.

The NWT Bureau of Statistics' Labour Force Surveys of 1994 and 1999 also asked questions relating to language use, but the questions varied between the two surveys, making it difficult to assess multi-year language trends. The 1994 Survey captured information about fluency rates in each of the NWT's official languages. The 1999 survey asked detailed questions about Aboriginal language use in the home, work, and school, which provided useful information about language-use patterns within our communities at that point in time, but did not specify the official Aboriginal language being used.

The Census Canada and the Labour Force Survey data capture the general condition of a language at one point in time and can also provide a broad measure of language shift over specific time periods. But the data do not provide information about fluency levels within a given language population (de-acquisition) or the reasons for language shift. As well, linguists (Bauman, 1980; Office of the Languages Commissioner of the NWT, 1993; Fishman, 2000) suggest that it is important to assess:

- The number of young adults of childbearing age who speak the language
- The number of infants learning the language naturally as their first language
- The number of young families whose home language includes the traditional language, even though another language may also be spoken.

Some Aboriginal language communities have carried out assessments of their own language use based on anecdotal information provided during language planning workshops and other gatherings. In 1999-2000, the Cree, Chipewyan, and Sahtu Dene language communities, for example, used a language assessment chart developed by Bauman (1980) to assess the condition of their languages. This chart rates the condition of a language according to the following scale:

- Flourishing: Has speakers of all ages, some monolingual, has high literacy rates, and the language is used in all areas of society — use is increasing
- Enduring: Has speakers of all ages, mostly bilingual, lower literacy levels, no increase in speakers, and another language is used in some social situations
- Declining: There are more older speakers than younger ones, younger speakers are less fluent, literacy levels are low, and the number of speakers is declining
- Obsolescent: There are very few young speakers, fluency stops at a certain age level, another language is used in most social situations, the number of speakers is declining rapidly, and the language does not adapt to new situations
- Extinct: There are no living mother tongue speakers (p. 6).

Although there were slight variations among communities, the Cree, Chipewyan, and Sahtu Dene languages were all rated as declining by their respective language communities, and, in some communities, as obsolescent. These language communities also collected some anecdotal information about attitude toward language use and the reasons why language shift was occurring. The Inuvialuit, in their language plan, rated their languages as moribund (Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, 1999). Other NWT Aboriginal language communities have noted similar conditions.

The most thorough types of language assessments are referred to as 'sociolinguistic' studies. As well as measuring language shift in the broad sense, these studies normally attempt to measure individual fluency; literacy levels; attitudes toward a particular language; and the social, political, economic, and cultural factors affecting language usage. In essence, sociolinguistic studies measure what is referred to as the 'ethnolinguistic vitality' of a language, or the overall ability of a language to be sustained (DeVries, 1984; Paulston, 2000). These studies also provide information on the steps that need to be taken to help preserve and revitalize a language.

Generally speaking, the ethnolinguistic vitality of a language is dependent on the following key factors:

- **Social factors**
  - ✓ Political self-determination
  - ✓ Support for the language by other language groups
  - ✓ Language legislation
  - ✓ Economic self-sufficiency
  - ✓ Control over education
- **Group factors**
  - ✓ Demography (size, dispersal, migration, birth trends, marriage trends)
  - ✓ Standardization of the language (vs. many dialects)
  - ✓ Modernization of the language (terminology development and flexibility)
  - ✓ Control of community institutions (e.g. schools, cultural centres, local government, etc.)
  - ✓ Control over the media
- **Individual factors**
  - ✓ Individual choice of language (attitudes and values regarding language use)
  - ✓ Intergenerational transmission and reinforcement (learning and continuing to hear the language in family and community).

From a sociolinguistic perspective, it is clear that the condition of a language is significantly affected by its social context:

> *Thus, language brings us back to the relationships that develop within a group and between groups, and even more so, to power. If societies invest so much into language and charge it with such considerable symbolism, it is because relationships of power are made through it.... Through language we deal with the rules of society, with the rules for the distribution of power.* *(Klinkenberg, 2000, p. 16)*

Assessments of the condition of a language must therefore include measures of the ability and will of a language community to take action to preserve and revitalize its language, particularly when decision-making authority and resources rest with another language group.

In Canada, Aboriginal sociolinguistic studies have been carried out in Yukon and Saskatchewan. The Assembly of First Nations has also conducted a national analysis of Aboriginal language use. The Yukon study concluded that, "Only 30% of the Indian people speak their aboriginal language with a skill level ranging from fair to excellent. 22% are good to excellent speakers while 23% do not speak an aboriginal language at all" (Government of Yukon, 1988, p. 13). Significantly, this study also noted that "the ability to speak one's language well is inversely related to the level of formal education achieved by the individual. That is, it appears that the higher one's level of schooling, the less chance one has of learning and enriching one's aboriginal language" (p. 14). This observation applied where the school system operated in English and did not adequately accommodate Aboriginal languages. The study added that:

> *... those who are employed in a traditional activity are more fluent than those who are found in non-traditional occupations. It would appear that Indian people are still faced with the heart-rendering cultural choice of maintaining their language and culture on the economic fringes of society or jumping into the mainstream economy to be swallowed up by the English/white culture. (p. 15)*

This information provided a valuable sociolinguist perspective on the declining in use of Yukon Aboriginal languages and the social factors that contributed to this condition.

> *Interestingly, all school experiences would seem to have had about the same negative impact on language retention. Ironically, the mission/residential schools' greatest impact on the languages may have been their role in breaking the will of the parents to teach as much as breaking the will of the children to learn their native languages. (p. 14)*

The Assembly of First Nations (1990) carried out a major survey of First Nations communities, focussing on language use at the individual First Nation level and utilizing a standardized questionnaire that asked questions about fluency, language use throughout the community, programming, and language needs (p. 17). The study, entitled *Toward Linguistic Justice for First Nations*, concluded that traditional language use in 66% of the 151 First Nations surveyed was declining, endangered, or critical:

> *Unfortunately, the vast majority of First Nations participating in the survey stated that their language is rarely used in community life (e.g. in community meetings, in the schools, or with the band office, or in public communications).... The fact that the language is not spoken in the community makes language education extremely difficult since there is little reinforcement of skills acquired. This problem is compounded in communities where languages are critical or endangered because adults of parenting age rarely speak the Aboriginal language, and cannot reinforce language in the home. (p. ii)*

The study also concluded that the loss of Aboriginal languages can mainly be attributed to:

> *Suppression in residential schools and forced integration into the provincial school system (p. 21), andA general history of government suppression and oppression that has created an attitude of apathy and fatalism about the need for and utility of Aboriginal languages among Aboriginal people themselves (p. ii).*

In the NWT, some sociolinguistic information was gathered during the *Evaluation of the Canada-NWT Cooperation Agreement for French and Aboriginal Languages in the NWT* (New Economy Development Group, 1993). In the same year, the Languages Commissioner presented and analyzed language data in her annual report (Office of the Languages Commissioner of the NWT, 1993). However, the only language region that has carried out a comprehensive sociolinguistic study is the Deh Cho — for the South Slavey language or Dene Zhatie. Guided by the Deh Cho First Nations and by elders, this region "engaged in a process to determine the condition of the Dene language in 10 Deh Cho communities" (Bonnetrouge, J., 2000, *Covering letter to Bringing the Dene Zhatie home*, p. 1). The two-year study produced detailed information on language use in each of the communities.

Whether Census Canada and other formal data, anecdotal information, or information generated from more comprehensive sociolinguistic studies (or, ideally, all types of measurements), are used, a few key points seem to emerge:

- Assessing the condition of a language is an important first step in planning its preservation and revitalization
- The degree of language shift (and language de-acquisition) within any language group, although complex, can be assessed and measured

SCOL Chair Steven Nitah and Aklavik elder Ruth Furlong during community meeting, September 2002.

- Assessing the social, political, and economic context in which language shift has, and is occurring provides essential insights and planning information.

With these points in mind, the next section provides an overview of the current condition of each of the NWT's official languages.

Language Shift in the NWT

The following section provides an overview and background on language shift in the NWT and the overall condition of our official languages. The condition of each official language is then summarized, based on available information. This information provides an understanding of the extent of the language shift that is occurring and a basis for the development of appropriate legislative and policy interventions.

Overview

In the Northwest Territories, language shift is very evident. The Special Committee acknowledges that, in most communities, English has increasingly become the dominant language of work, governance, entertainment, schooling, and media, and Aboriginal language use has visibly declined, particularly among the youth. The rate and extent of this decline does appear to vary, however, between language communities and within language communities, depending on the history and dynamics of individual populations. French language use also appears to be declining.

The first comprehensive review of language shift in the NWT was carried out by the first Languages Commissioner, Betty Harnum, and presented in her 1993 report to the Legislative Assembly of the NWT. This report assessed language shift within the official Aboriginal language communities and for French based on 1986 and 1991 Census Canada data. The rates of shift identified in this report "clearly demonstrate that the shift toward English is pervasive in the NWT" (Office of the Languages Commissioner of the NWT, 1993, p. 19). A less detailed but still compelling review of language shift was carried out by the NWT Literacy Council in its 1999 publication Languages of the Land: A Resource Manual for Aboriginal Language Activists. This manual included 1996 Census Canada data and concluded that:

> *English is the only language that has continued to gain new speakers.... All of the other languages are showing clear decline in usage.... The Dogrib and South Slavey languages are declining less rapidly.... But some languages, particularly Cree and Gwich'in show a rapid and serious decline in usage. (Crosscurrent Associates, 1999, p. 13)*

The first comprehensive review of language shift in the NWT was carried out by the first Languages Commissioner, Betty Harnum, and presented in her 1993 report to the Legislative Assembly of the NWT.

The most recent assessment of language shift in the NWT is provided in the ECE (2001d) report *Revitalizing, Enhancing, and Promoting Aboriginal Languages — Strategies for Supporting Aboriginal Languages*. This report notes that, "Statistics for most Aboriginal languages show a persistent and dramatic decline in the number of young speakers" (p. i).

This following section provides an overview of the condition and trends of each of the NWT's official languages, drawn from the following sources of information:

- Sociolinguistic studies (where this information is available)
- Anecdotal information generated by the language communities themselves (from their language plans, studies, and reports)
- Comparative Census Canada data from the 1986, 1991, and 1996, along with some data from the GNWT's Labour Force Surveys. Census Canada 2001 data is expected to be available in early 2003.

The available information is presented in formats consistent with previous reports, so that continuity with previous studies is not lost. Graphs have been added to provide a fresh erspective on existing information. The information and data presented here are not fully reflective of the condition of the NWT official languages, given that more detailed sociolinguistic studies have not been carried out in most regions. The information supports the conclusions of the Office of the Languages Commissioner of the NWT (1993), Crosscurrent Associates (1999), ECE (2001c), and the language communities themselves that use of our official Aboriginal languages continues to decline rapidly and will continue to do so unless serious and significant intervention takes place.

This section of the report also reviews shifts in French and English language use in the NWT, noting that French language use is clearly declining while English language use continues to increase, at the expense of the other official languages.

Language Group Background Information

Linguists group the official languages of the NWT into four broad language families or categories:

- Eskimo-Aleut (including Inuktitut, Inuvialuktun, and Inuinnaqtun)
- Athapaskan (including Chipewyan, Dogrib, South Slavey, North Slavey, and Gwich'in — referred to in the NWT as Dene languages)
- Algonquian (Cree)
- and Indo-European (English and French).

Languages within a broad language category tend to have similarities in structure and vocabulary. Each official language also has some internal variation as well, and these variations are often referred to as dialect differences. Much debate occurs, however, over the difference between a language and a dialect:

> *The question of whether two speech systems should be considered as separate languages or as dialects of the same language has been a focus of discussion within linguistics for over a century. It is crucial to have criteria for deciding the question.... In brief, purely on linguistic grounds, two speech systems are considered to be dialects of the same language if they are (predominantly) mutually intelligible. (Crystal, 2000, pp. 7-8)*

The *Official Languages Act* (1990) made the distinction between language and dialect by acknowledging 11 official languages for the NWT, as noted above. Although there are still some variations within these languages, data gathering by the NWT Bureau of Statistics and Census Canada does not fully differentiate among the official languages. In some cases, names given to the languages vary between different surveys and studies, making it difficult to compare data accurately. Official language communities may use sociolinguistic surveys and other means to document relevant information regarding dialect differences.

Some of the terms used to describe or name the NWT's official Aboriginal languages are not in their own language. These include Dogrib, Chipewyan, South Slavey, and North Slavey. Although these terms are used throughout this report, reflecting their use in the *Official Languages Act*, Dene terms are also utilized where the Special Committee has deemed appropriate and, where there is consensus with the respective language community. Dene terms are recommended for future use.

The Overall Condition of Our Official Aboriginal Languages

Figure 4.1 below is based on 1996 Census Canada data and 1998 population data from the GNWT Department of Education, Culture and Employment (ECE). This figure illustrates:

- The total number of people in the NWT who identified themselves as being members of a particular Aboriginal language community
- The number of people from this Aboriginal language community who learned their traditional language as their first language or mother tongue and still understand it
- The number of people who currently use their mother tongue as their home language (the primary language spoken in the home).

Figure 4.1. Aboriginal language shift by language community (Source: SCOL)

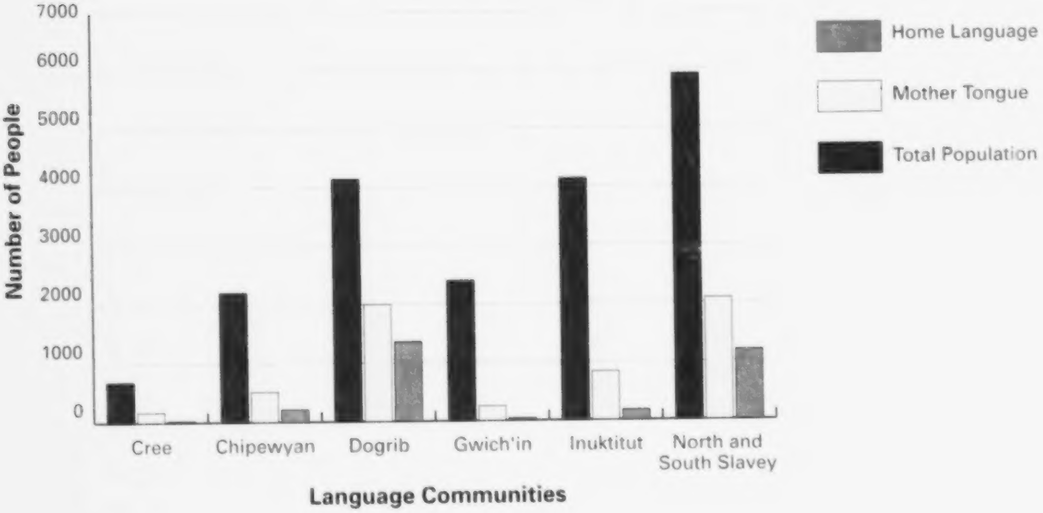


Figure 4.1 shows that many Aboriginal people have not learned their traditional language as their mother tongue. For example, approximately 4000 people have been identified as Dogrib, but only 2000 of these learned Dogrib as their mother tongue and still understand it. This data reflects a historic shift away from the Aboriginal language to English (but does not provide information on why or how this has happened). The figure also shows that many of those people who learned their language as their mother tongue are not using it as their home language, meaning that these languages are not being transmitted to younger generations within families, which is the natural means of language transmission. Again using Dogrib as an example, out of approximately 2000 people who say they learned Dogrib as their mother tongue and still understand it, only 1400 currently use Dogrib as their home language. This data indicates that significant language shift is taking place within one generation.

The figure illustrates that the trend for each language is very similar. In all cases, less than half of those people who are identified as members of a particular Aboriginal language community have learned their traditional language as a mother tongue and still understand it. Of these, many now use another language (other data tells us that the other language is primarily English) as their home language. The rate of language shift for each community is discussed further in more detail in this chapter.

Figure 4.1 also shows the relative population size of each of the NWT official Aboriginal language communities, with Dogrib being the largest group and Cree the smallest. Although the data for North and South Slavey is combined on the graph, because the Census does not differentiate between these two languages, they are considered separate languages within the NWT's *Official Languages Act*, so the population size for each group is actually smaller. On the figure, Inuktitut includes Inuvialuktun and Inuinnaqtun and does not include the population of Nunavut; however it does include Inuktitut speakers currently residing in the NWT.

Figure 4.2 shows the percentage of Aboriginal people 15 years and older within each NWT community that speak an Aboriginal language. All of the Dogrib communities, Déline, and a few other remote communities have a high percentage of Aboriginal language speakers (over 90%) while the Gwich'in and Inuvialuit communities, as well as the larger towns, have a relatively low percentage of Aboriginal language speakers (approximately 20%).

Figure 4.2. Percentage of Aboriginal people who speak an Aboriginal language by community (Source: NWT Bureau of Statistics)

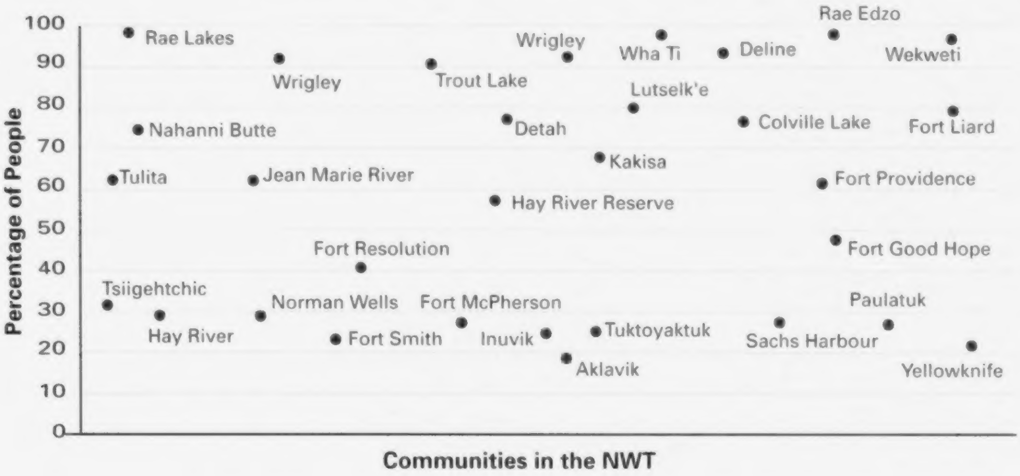


Figure 4.3, based on 1996 Census Canada data, shows the percentage of Aboriginal language speakers in the NWT who can speak their language, by age category. This figure clearly illustrates that the rate of language use is declining among the younger generations. Although approximately 82% of Aboriginal people over the age of 60 can speak their traditional language, only 27% of youth ages 15 to 24 can speak an Aboriginal language. However, these rates vary quite widely among the different language groups.

The figure does not show language de-acquisition, or the loss of language fluency among generations. Sociolinguistic surveys, such as the one carried out by the Deh Cho First Nations, indicate that the level of fluency, or language proficiency, among youth is considerably lower than that of elders. Taking language de-acquisition into account, language loss among generations is actually greater than that shown on the graph.

Figure 4.3. Intergenerational language shift for Aboriginal languages (Source: SCOL[1])

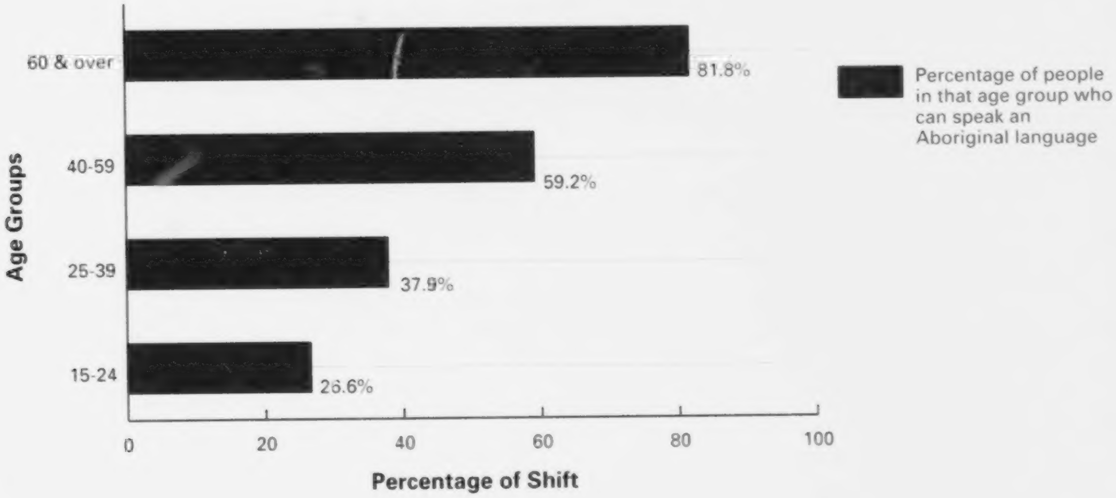
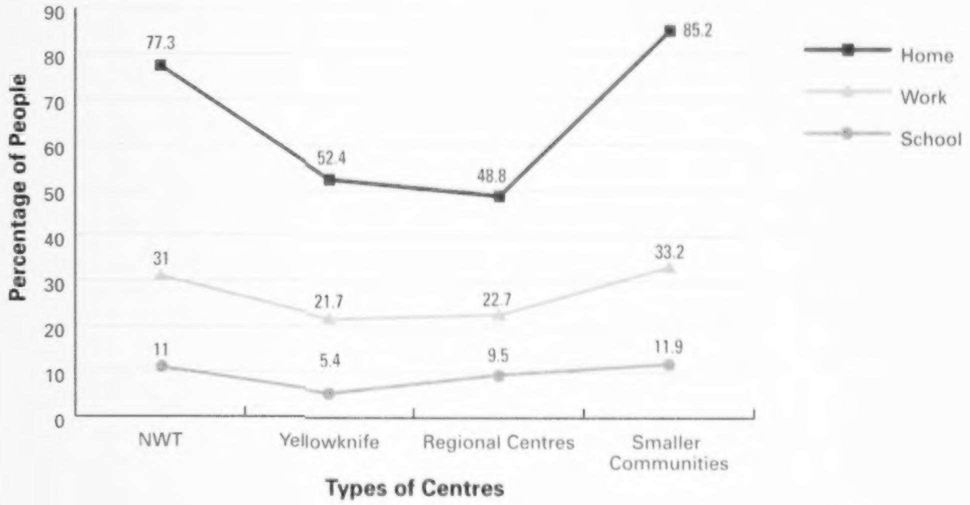


Figure 4.4, based on information gathered through the GNWT's 1999 Labour Force Survey, provides valuable information on the pattern of Aboriginal language use within our communities. This figure clearly shows that the Aboriginal languages, when used, are used primarily in the home, particularly in the smaller communities. Up to 85% of Aboriginal people living in the smaller communities who speak an Aboriginal language use their language at home (although another language may also be used and may be the primary language), whereas only 50% of Aboriginal people living in the larger communities (Yellowknife and the regional centres) use their language at home. This pattern is consistent with global language-shift theory that concludes that migration to urban centres, where another language dominates, often results in significant language shift.

The figure also shows that, even in the smaller communities, the majority of Aboriginal people do not use their language in the workplace. Language use in the workplace is significantly lower than language use at home. This data indicates that many Aboriginal people shift languages between home and work, indicating the dominance of the English language in the NWT workplace.

Most striking, only 5% to 11% of Aboriginal youth in the NWT use their traditional language at school. This figure may reflect the fact that a relatively small percentage of school-aged youth can speak their language, but also could be interpreted to mean that the opportunity to speak an Aboriginal language in NWT schools is low. These numbers might be higher if children under the age of 15 were included, given that Aboriginal language schooling, where offered, generally focuses on the primary grades.

Figure 4.4. Percentage of Aboriginal people who speak an Aboriginal language (Source: Labour Force Survey)



Aboriginal Language Literacy

Languages are more likely to survive when they are written; thus, the ability to read and write a language as well as speak it must be taken into account when assessing the condition of a language and language shift (Crystal, 2000, p. 138). In the north, the Aboriginal languages are often referred to as 'oral' languages, in that much of the history and culture of the respective language communities has not been documented in written form. But this does not mean that the languages are without a written form. The Aboriginal Peoples' Survey (1991) carried out by Census Canada reported that approximately 90% of Inuit in the NWT could read and write Inuktitut, which has both syllabic and Roman orthographic writing systems, but few could read and write both systems. The percentage of NWT Cree or Dene who could read or write their language was considerably lower: ranging from less than 1% for Cree up to approximately 6% for Slavey.

Although earlier literacy statistics are not available, the Dene languages have had a syllabic writing system, developed by missionaries, since the late 1800s, and many Dene in the north could read and write using this system. However, the only texts available were religious in nature. During the early to mid-1900s, the churches began teaching catechism in French or English, and the production of new materials in syllabics ended.

> *The OMI [Oblates of Mary Immaculate] adapted the syllabic alphabet (sic) of the Wesleyan missionary Rev. James Evans to the Dene languages, using a somewhat simpler form than did the Anglicans. Their books were also a more convenient size, suitable for the Dene to hang around their necks or inside their coats. These "noiseless emissaries" of the Catholic faith enabled the Dene to learn their prayers, hymns, and catechisms very quickly. The first to learn to read, in conformity with their own traditions, taught the rest... as late as 1935 some of the most remote Slaveys took pride in learning and teaching the syllabics to each other. (McCarthy, 1995, p. 80)*

A Chipweyan syllabic catechism and hymn book, *Catéchisme et Cantique en Langue Montagnaise ou Chipewyan*, (Société Saint-Augustin, 1904) was printed early in the 1900s and is still in use in some Chipewyan and Dogrib communities. Versions in North and South Slavey are also still used by some elders in other NWT communities. The syllabics system uses symbols for approximately 72 syllables such as 'ba', 'ko', 'che', 'tho', and 'tthi', rather than using individual sound-letter symbols. This system "was an incomplete system since many sounds were not represented in the syllabary. The system was useable only by fluent speakers who could figure out the written words because they understood the context of the text which, in most cases, was primarily either religious or a personal record" (Department of Culture and Communications, 1990b, p. 2).

Systems of writing based on Roman orthography began to be developed in the 1950s by educators, translators, and fluent Dene speakers. By the 1980s, there were competing alphabetic systems and different spelling practices. This was due to the fact "that various systems have been proposed and taught at different times, and also due to the fact that, since Dene is written exactly as it sounds, different communities, or even different individuals within the same community, may write words differently" (p. 4).

Recommendations to standardize the writing system for the Dene languages using Roman orthography were made by an Athapaskan Languages Steering Committee in the 1970s, at a Bilingual Education Conference in Inuvik in 1982, and by the Task Force on Aboriginal Languages in 1986. As a direct result of the Task Force's recommendation:

> *The Dene Standardization Committee was initiated in 1987. It was conceived as a one year project with the mandate of making recommendations on orthography standardization, as a first step in the process of encouraging*

> *widespread native language literacy, the publication of native language materials, and ultimately the preservation of the Dene languages in a technological era which places high demand for literacy and depends on the print media for the retention and transmission of information. (Department of Culture and Communications, 1990b, p. 1)*

The Standardization Committee "reached a consensus on twenty-seven recommendations for standardization of the writing system which would apply across the five Dene languages" (p. 6). Along with specific language recommendations, the Committee made a series of implementation recommendations that included the training of language specialists, publication of dictionaries and other reference materials, provisions for the teaching of Dene as a second language to children, funding for linguistic research, and the use of traditional place names. As well, the Committee recommended that a "Dene Languages Committee be set up in consultation with the Dene Cultural Institute. This standing committee would be empowered to make [ongoing] decisions regarding the standard orthographies" (p. 6).

Based on the Roman orthography revised by the Committee, a Dene language font was developed by the GNWT Language Bureau for the Macintosh computer system and has been used since the late 1980s. In the late 1990s, Jim Stauffer developed a low-cost and accessible font system for use on the Windows and Macintosh operating systems, which provides the capacity for any user to integrate the Dene writing system into standard documents and publications.

With respect to the Inuit languages:

> *A Language Commission established by the Inuit Cultural Institute studied the writing systems in 1976 and recommended a dual orthography.... Syllabics is used in the Eastern Arctic, the Kivalliq Region while either the Roman writing system or syllabics is used in Arctic Coast communities. Since the division of the NWT in 1999, most Inuit in the NWT use the Roman system, but a fairly large number of Inuit from the east also make their home in the NWT and continue to use syllabics.... In the 1980s, the Committee of Original Peoples' Entitlement (COPE) conducted research in the Beaufort-Delta region and proposed a slightly amended orthography. A dictionary and grammar were created for each of the three main dialects, and some literacy teaching followed. However, this revised Roman system competes with an older Roman orthography in these communities, causing considerable disagreement among the Aboriginal language speakers. (Betty Harnum, written communication with SCOL, November 2002)*

Over the past two decades:

- Considerable work has been done in the areas of terminology development and much effort has been put into literacy training
- Local and regional dictionaries have been prepared and/or adapted for most of the official Aboriginal languages
- A variety of other resource materials has been published by the teaching and learning centres, cultural institutes, government departments, and other community-based and Aboriginal agencies.

However, problems with inconsistent spelling of words, based on individual preferences and dialect differences, continue to be significant in the preparation of written materials. As well,

> *In the NWT, literacy training is not available on a regular or ongoing basis … but communities do try to offer some programs when funding and qualified instructors are available. Further, there is not much material available in the Aboriginal languages, except for translations of government documents (which few, if any, people read) so there is little incentive for people to learn to read in the Aboriginal languages. (Betty Harnum, written communication with SCOL, December 2002)*

Aboriginal literacy data has not been gathered since 1991, so it is difficult to determine whether literacy rates have risen or fallen.

The Condition of Each of Our Official Languages

Information regarding the Aboriginal languages has been adapted and expanded from a number of sources, including:

- *Languages of the Land: A Resource Manual for Aboriginal Language Activists,* published by the NWT Literacy Council (Crosscurrent Associates, 1999)
- The various language studies and plans (as cited) prepared by each of the NWT's Aboriginal language communities
- The *Evaluation of the Canada-NWT Cooperation Agreement for French and Aboriginal Languages in the NWT* (New Economy Development Group, 1993)
- Census Canada statistics
- The GNWT Bureau of Statistics
- *Revitalizing, Enhancing, and Promoting the Aboriginal Languages — Strategies for Supporting Official Languages* (ECE, 2001d)
- Texts, reports, and other historical documents (as cited) prepared by linguists and other researchers.

Lutselk'e elders presenting during community meeting, September 2002.

The description of the condition of each language includes some background on the language community, including its geographic area and the influences on language usage. This background information is followed by an outline of the size of the language community, language use statistics, and an analysis of the condition of the language.

Chipewyan (Dëne Sųłıne Yatı)

The 1996 Census reported that 1,305 people in Canada list Chipewyan as their mother tongue, although the number of speakers appears to be much higher.

> *Among the Canadian Athapaskan languages, Chipewyan is most widespread — from Fort Resolution, in the Northwest Territories, to Fond du Lac, Saskatchewan, and to Churchill, Manitoba. It has the largest speaker population among the Northern Athabaskan languages, estimated at 12,000... in no less than twenty different communities in the three prairie provinces and the Northwest Territories. More significantly, Chipewyan is being acquired by children in at least four communities in Saskatchewan where the population is growing. (Cook, 1998, p. 131)*

In the Northwest Territories, approximately 2,200 people identify themselves as Chipewyan and approximately 740 of these claim they speak the Chipewyan language. The majority of the NWT's Chipewyan speakers live in the communities of Łútsëlk'e, Fort Resolution (Deninu

Kuę), and the Fort Smith (Tthebacha) area — including Fort Fitzgerald (Tthebatthi). Yellowknife (Beghuldesche) has a significant Chipewyan population as well, due to in-migration from the smaller, surrounding communities. Although the Akaitcho Territory (Treaty 8) communities of Detah and Ndilǫ are often referred to as Dogrib communities, many of the elders speak both Dogrib and Chipewyan, and they compare their local Ts'atsąot'ine dialect to Chipewyan: "In fact, the Ts'atsąot'ine and Dënesųłiné languages are similar enough that one [is] likely a dialect of the other" (Weledeh Yellowknives Dene, 1997, p. 6). As well, a number of elders on the K'átł'odeeche Dene Reserve speak Chipewyan, along with the Slavey language.

The two main dialects of Chipewyan in the NWT are the 'k' and 't' dialects. The 'k' dialect is primarily spoken in Łútsëlk'e and is related to dialects spoken in northern Saskatchewan. The 't' dialect, more common in northern Alberta, is generally spoken in the Fort Resolution and Fort Smith areas.

According to the *Strategic Plan for Dëne Sųłiné Yatı*, prepared by the Akaitcho Territory Government (2000):

> *The Chipewyan language is clearly in decline in the Akaitcho Territory. Approximately 80% of adults over the age of 45 are fluent in the language while less than 10% of people age 24 and under are fluent.*
>
> *Language use differs greatly among the three Chipewyan communities, but all communities show a significant decline in language use over the past ten years. The home language to mother tongue ratios are as follows:*

	1986	1996
Łútsëlk'e	83%	70%
Deninu Kųe	52%	36%
Tthebacha	19%	12%

> *Although a variety of Chipewyan language resources have been produced over the past twenty years by individuals and organizations, most of these materials have never been collected, catalogued, or distributed within the Chipewyan language community. It is therefore difficult to obtain Chipewyan language materials. (p. 3)*

In preparing the *Strategic Plan for Dëne Sųłiné Yatı*, delegates to a 2000 planning workshop were asked to rate, by community, the status of their languages according to Bauman's (1980) five-stage assessment model. Based on these ratings, Łútsëlk'e is the only community that "Has speakers of all ages, some of them monolingual", which is one of the characteristics of a flourishing language. Łútsëlk'e is also the only community that had none of the characteristics associated with an obsolescent language. Delegates indicated that all three communities have a few of the characteristics of enduring languages and all of the characteristics of a declining language community. Both Deninu Kụe and Tthebacha have a number of characteristics associated with an obsolescent language. These include very few young speakers, with fluency stopping at a certain age; a rapid decline in the number of speakers; English becoming preferred in most situations, even for those who are bilingual; and minimal teaching of the language at home.

Delegates also responded to the following three questions, by community:

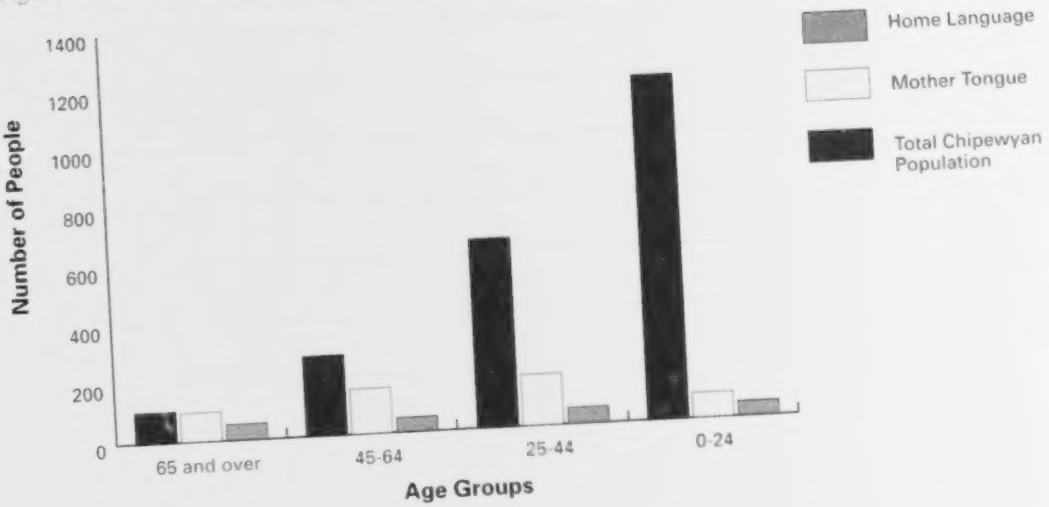
- In what situations is the language still used in the community?
- What are the attitudes toward the language?
- What activities/programs are in place to support the languages?

According to the delegates:

- The most common uses for Chipewyan are during social gatherings, during community meetings (using interpreters), among elders, and on the land
- Attitudes vary widely and include: a strong desire among some people (including youth) to learn the language; embarrassment, frustration, and, in some instances, shame, about not being able to speak the language well; frustration among elders about not being able to speak to youth; and disinterest
- The most common languages activities/programs include part-time instruction in the schools and cultural events and programs, including on-the-land programs, where the language is used to some extent (pp. 30-34).

From a statistical perspective, Chipewyan language use in the NWT clearly shows signs of intergenerational decline. Figure 4.5 illustrates this decline by showing the total Chipewyan population within each age group along with the number of people who claim Chipewyan as their mother tongue and the number who currently use the language as the primary language in their home. Among the two older generations, a relatively high percentage of the population has Chipewyan as a mother tongue and also continues to use the language as the primary home language. However, these groups represent a relatively small number of people. Each successive generation contains a larger group of people, but the percentage of people who have Chipewyan as their mother tongue or home language declines with each generation. The youngest generation constitutes the largest Chipewyan population group by far, but has the smallest mother tongue numbers, which indicates a high rate of language shift. Among this mother tongue group, less than half use the Chipewyan language as the primary language at home, which indicates that rapid language shift is still occurring. If the members of this age group do not have the language skills required to teach their own children, the language will very quickly become obsolescent.

Figure 4.5 Chipewyan language shift by age groups (Source: SCOL)



In the NWT, the Chipewyan language community's interests are currently represented through the Akaitcho Territory Government (ATG). For the past three years, the ATG has been allocated approximately $170 thousand dollars per year from the Canada-NWT Cooperation Agreement and the GNWT to develop and deliver revitalization projects at the community level. The funding has been managed by a part-time regional Chipewyan language coordinator. Project design and delivery has been coordinated at the community level by volunteer language committees, with varying degrees of success. Projects have included community signs, terminology development, literacy development, preparation and publication of a dictionary, language promotion, and the development of language resources, including prayer and hymn books in syllabics and Roman orthography. Language funding is provided to the South Slave Divisional Education Council, but, unlike other regions, it has not operated a teaching and learning centre for the past decade, so minimal Chipewyan language curriculum and resource development has been taking place. However, Chipewyan language instruction is offered as an elective in Fort Resolution, Fort Smith, and Łútsëlk'e schools.

Cree

The following background information is taken primarily from the *Cree Language Plan for the Northwest Territories* (Crosscurrent Associates, 1999) published under the authority of the South Slave Métis Tribal Council and includes information from the *Evaluation of the Canada-NWT Cooperation Agreement for French and Aboriginal Languages in the NWT* (New Economy Development Group, 1993).

The Cree language is the most widely spoken Aboriginal language in Canada. In the 1996 Canada Census, Cree was listed as a mother tongue by 76,475 individuals. Cree is one of only three Aboriginal languages that could be considered, as a whole, to be enduring. In a few areas of the country, it could be considered flourishing; in others, it is clearly declining. Although

76,000 of the people who reported Cree as their mother tongue, only 49,855 say that Cree is the primary language used in the home: a ratio of 65% nationally. In Saskatchewan, the home language to mother tongue ratio is 59%; in Alberta, 48%; and in the NWT, 17%.

Cree has four formally recognized dialects in Canada: Plains Cree, Swampy Cree, Woods Cree, and Moose Cree, but other regional and community dialects also exist. The four main dialects have a few consistently different sounds along with some distinct word differences. Cree is not a Dene language, but is a member of the Algonquian family of languages.

According to the 1994 GNWT Labour Force survey, approximately 800 people 15 years of age and older in the NWT identified themselves as Cree and approximately 185 of these listed Cree as their mother tongue. Fort Smith is the only community with a relatively large, indigenous Cree population, made up of First Nations and Métis people. In effect, Fort Smith is the home community for the Cree language in the Northwest Territories. The Cree in Fort Smith have close connections to Fort Chipewyan and other northern Alberta communities. Fort Smith also has a relatively large group of people who are of mixed Cree-Chipewyan ancestry: some speak Cree, some speak Chipewyan, some speak both, and some speak only English.

Cree is not a Dene language, but is a member of the Algonquian family of languages.

The dialect of Cree spoken in Fort Smith is referred to as Bush Cree, and is closely related to the Plains Cree dialect. Cree language classes have been held in Fort Smith in the past — in the schools and through Uncle Gabe's Friendship Centre. Some language materials in the Bush Cree dialect have been prepared locally and more research is being done by the Friendship Centre regarding this particular dialect.

Hay River also has a relatively large Cree population, most of whom moved north from Saskatchewan during the past fifty years for economic reasons. This group primarily speaks the Plains Cree dialect. As long-term northerners, they have an interest in, and commitment to, maintaining the Cree language within this region. Adult Cree language classes have been held in Hay River for a number of years through the Soaring Eagle Friendship Centre.

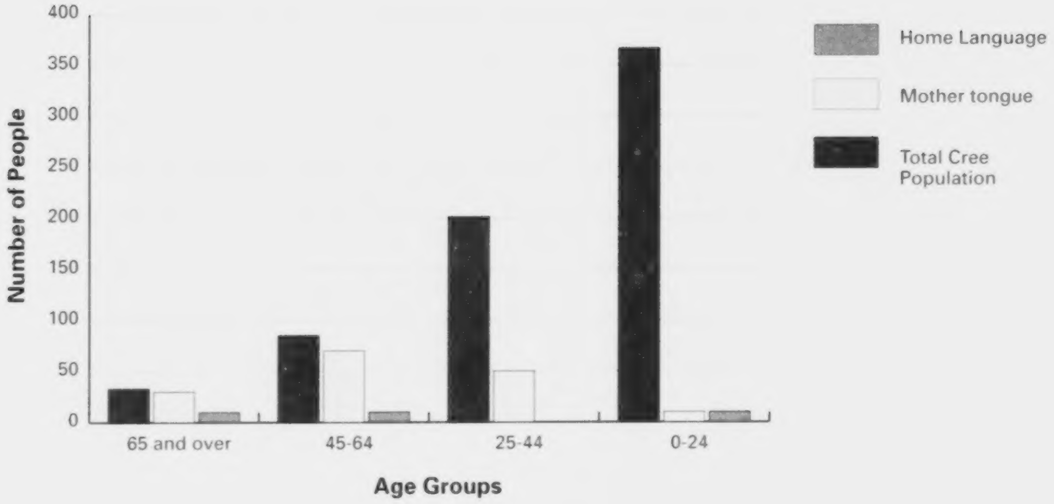
The only Cree language population in the NWT that has been formally studied in the past is the Fort Smith population. For the final report of the *Evaluation of the Canada — NWT Cooperation Agreement for French and Aboriginal Languages in the NWT* (New Economy

Development Group, 1993), a sample of 50 Cree people from age five and up were interviewed and statistics regarding Cree language usage were presented. A brief summary of the report's major findings is as follows:

- Compared with other language groups studied in the Northwest Territories, the Cree respondents had a slightly higher overall level of education. Reasons for this difference were not provided in the report.
- A majority of the Cree respondents participated in hunting, fishing, and/or trapping activities, demonstrating a relatively strong relationship to the land.
- 59% of the respondents learned Cree as a first language, but only 44% cite Cree as their most fluent language today and 16% speak it frequently at home. This data indicates a rapid decline in Cree language usage within the current generations.
- Based on a language test, 40% of the respondents were rated as excellent speakers and an additional 14% were rated as good. However, the fluent speakers are mostly in the over 45 age group while all of those respondents under 24 years of age were rated as having poor or no fluency skills. This data indicates a sharp drop in both fluency and usage among young people.
- Fluency levels appeared to be independent of the level of schooling of the participants. In other words, among those who were fluent, education levels varied widely. This data indicates that schooling, among the older age groups, did not appear to affect fluency as much as it did for later generations.
- The majority of respondents had some Cree literacy skills (the ability to read and write the language), but very few had good skills. Literacy skills were lowest among the younger age group.
- Cree language usage in all aspects of life — home, community, work, school, and service delivery — were generally low, indicating that Cree has not found a special place or purpose within Fort Smith. This makes maintenance of the language more difficult.
- Television and radio programs dealing with Cree culture or language were very popular among respondents, indicating that they might be effective for language promotion
- Few government services are offered in Cree.

Cree language use in the Northwest Territories is in obvious and serious decline as can be seen from Figure 4.6. The total Cree community is relatively small to begin with and there are very few elders. Although a high percentage of Cree people age 45 and older have Cree as their mother tongue, very few use the language at home. The percentage of mother tongue Cree within the younger age groups drops rapidly and home language use among these age groups is negligible. With minimal use of the language at home among the younger age groups, an entire generation of non-speakers is being raised. The situation for Cree in the NWT could be termed critical.

Figure 4.6. Cree language shift by age groups (Source: SCOL)



The Cree language community is currently represented by the North West Territory Métis Tribal Council (previously the South Slave Métis Tribal Council). The Council has been allocated approximately $100 thousand per year for the past three years for community language projects, through the Canada-NWT Cooperation Agreement and the GNWT. A Cree language coordinator has worked with the communities of Fort Smith and Hay River primarily to develop and deliver language promotion and cultural awareness projects. The large population of Cree speakers across Canada provides some advantages for northern Cree. For example, Plains Cree speakers are able to draw on a significant amount of Cree language resource materials from Saskatchewan and Alberta, and Bush Cree speakers have been able to adapt some of these materials for use in their own dialect. At present, Cree language instruction is not available in the schools in Fort Smith or Hay River.

Dogrib (Tłįchǫ Yatıì)

This information has primarily been adapted from *Languages of the Land: A Resource Manual for Aboriginal Language Activists* (Crosscurrent Associates, 1999) and the *Proposed Plan for the Dogrib Communities* (Dogrib Community Services Board, 1999), but other references are cited where used.

The Dogrib language is rooted in the Treaty 11 communities of Rae-Edzo (Behchokǫ̀), Wha Ti, Rae Lakes (Gahmį̀ti), and Wekweti. Although the Treaty 8 communities of Dettah and Ndilǫ are often included in Dogrib language statistics and are funded by the GNWT as Dogrib speakers, the Weledeh Dene of these communities refer to themselves as T'satsąot'ine (the metal or copper people): "Anthropologists often mistake T'satsąot'ine, especially Weledeh Yellowknives Dene for Tłį Chǫ́ Dene. Many Weledeh Yellowknives Elders speak their own as well as other Dene languages" (Weledeh Yellowknives Dene, 1997, p. 6).

According to the Census Canada (1996), slightly over 2000 people reported Dogrib as their mother tongue, most of whom still live within their traditional land use area. Dogrib is the strongest of the Dene languages in the NWT — 72% of the people who learned Dogrib as a mother tongue still use it as the primary language at home. Although Dogrib could still be considered an enduring language, particularly in the smaller communities, it does show early signs of decline.

The *Evaluation of the Canada-NWT Cooperation Agreement for French and Aboriginal Languages in the NWT* (New Economy Development Group, 1993) presented the following age-related data for the Dogrib language:

- Over 90% of the study respondents over the age of 45 were rated as very fluent
- Approximately 87% of the respondents between the ages of 25 and 44 were considered very fluent
- Almost 60% of the respondents between the ages of 5 and 24 were also very fluent.

Figure 4.7 illustrates the language shift that is occurring with the Dogrib language community. Although the elder age group represents a small percentage of the total Dogrib population, a high percentage of the elders have Dogrib as a mother tongue and continue to use this language most often at home. This indicates that minimal language shift has occurred among this generation. In succeeding generations, the mother tongue numbers are increasing, along with home language use, but the number of people with Dogrib as a mother tongue represents a smaller and smaller percentage of the total population within each age group. The reasonably high number of youth with Dogrib as a mother tongue indicates that the language remains relatively healthy and has a strong base for revitalization efforts. However, less than half the youth aged 24 or under have Dogrib as a mother tongue and only one-quarter use their language most often at home, so language loss is clearly occurring. These statistics also do not reflect loss of fluency (de-acquisition), which, according to informants, is occurring among the younger age groups. Overall, Dogrib is certainly the strongest of the official Aboriginal languages in the NWT.

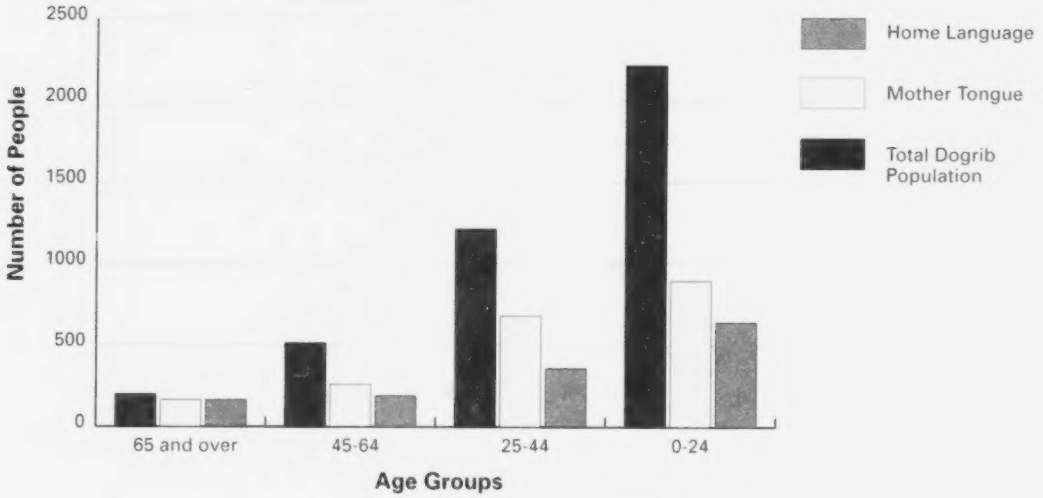
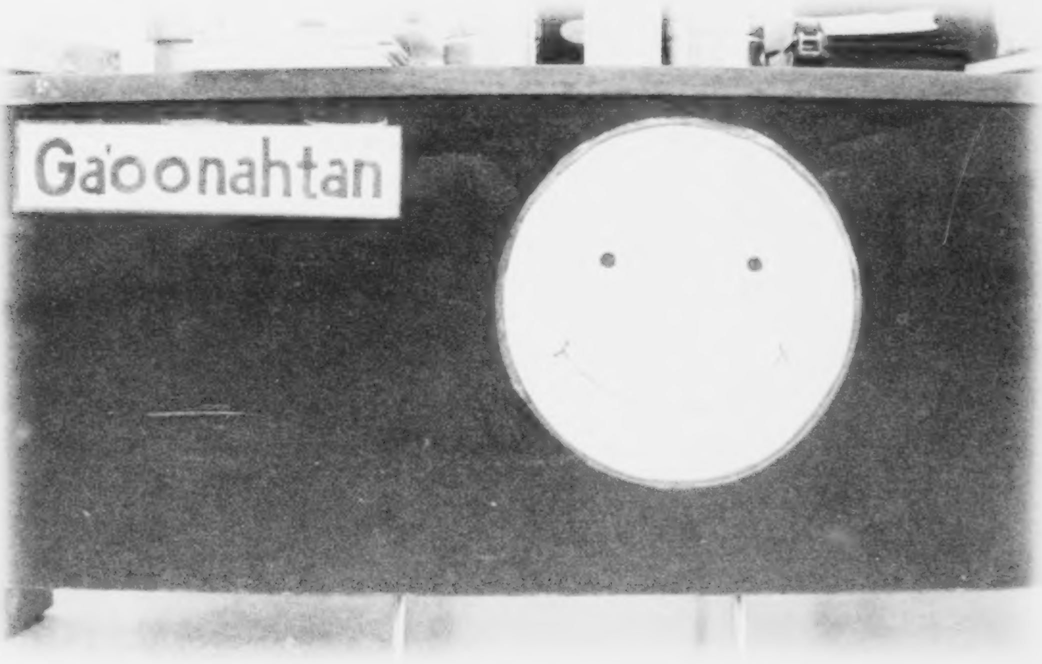


Figure 4.7. Dogrib language shift by age groups (Source SCOL[1])

According to the *Proposed Language Plan for the Dogrib Communities*, " The Dogrib language is not used as much in our communities as it has been in the past. It is not used for every communication as it once was, and in some contexts its use has diminished significantly" (Dogrib Community Services Board, 1999, p. 10). The Community Services Board noted that more research needed to be done to determine the current status of the Dogrib language, including:

- Contexts for its exclusive use
- Use among toddlers, children, and adults
- Rate and means of transmission of the language from generation to generation
- Attitudes that community members have concerning the language, its use and its speakers, and its importance now and for future generations
- Identification of circumstances and issues contributing to the decline in the use of the Dogrib language and of ways to reverse this trend
- Identification of strengths contributing to stabilization and maintenance of the use of the Dogrib language and the expansion of its contexts of use
- Role of the Dogrib schools in promoting language use, as envisioned by community members.

As a component of its planning process, the Board committed to carrying out a community language use and attitudes survey along with community meetings on language stabilization. This study was apparently carried out, but the Special Committee has been unable to access the results.



Aboriginal language classroom in Aklavik before community meeting, September 2002.

For cultural and political reasons, the Weledeh Yellowknives Dene participated in the Chipewyan language planning workshop in February 2000. During this session, they assessed their language as being primarily declining and obsolescent. Delegates stated that their language is used in public and community meetings and by elders at home. Most adults are bilingual but use English as a home language, and youth understand some of the language but only speak English (Akaitcho Territory Government, 2000, pp. 41-42).

The Tłı̨chǫ Yatıì Enı̨htł'èkǫ́ (teaching and learning centre), operated by the Dogrib Community Services Board, currently manages two streams of language funding allocated through the Canada-NWT Cooperation Agreement and the GNWT. The Centre manages community allocation funding (routed through the Dogrib Treaty 11 Tribal Council) of approximately $310 thousand per year, along with funding routed through the Dogrib Community Services Board for the teaching and learning centre itself.

English

Canadians generally speak a version of English referred to by linguists as Canadian English (CE), and the majority speak 'standard' CE. Standard CE is defined as the English spoken by people who have been urban, middle class anglophone Canadians for two generations or more (Chambers, 1998, p. 252). Canadian English developed during the late 1700s and early to mid-1800s in Ontario from two major waves of English-speaking immigrants. The first wave of immigrants consisted of thousands of British Empire Loyalists who fled the Thirteen Colonies after the American Revolution in 1776. The second significant wave began around 1815 and reached its peak around 1850. It consisted mostly of immigrants from England, Scotland, and, later, Ireland. Following the Riel Rebellion "the governors of Canada made generous land grants to the infantry volunteers and to other Ontarians in order to ensure that the first significant wave of settlers in the prairies would be sympathetic to their plans for expansion. In doing so, they transplanted not only the central Canadian ethos but also, inevitably, the Ontario accent" (p. 257). In spite of a significant increase in immigrants from non-English speaking countries during the 1900s, and with the exception of Newfoundland and Labrador, Canadian English has remained relatively consistent compared to other English speaking countries, such as Australia and the United States. "Standard CE is heard in cities and towns from sea to sea with virtually no variation. That is not to say that CE lacks variation, only that standard CE does" (p. 254).

However, Canadian English has been undergoing a more significant shift recently. Although about 95% of Canadians outside of Quebec speak English, the number of Canadians who speak English as a second language (ESL) has been increasing. "In 1991, almost one in three people (32 percent) in Toronto — population about three million — speak an immigrant language natively, as do 27 per cent in Vancouver, 21 per cent in Winnipeg, and 17 per cent in Montreal" (p. 266). This shift may result in greater variations in Canadian English across the country but will not undermine its dominance within Canadian society.

In the NWT, English is the only official language where use is increasing.

In the NWT, English is the only official language where use is increasing. Census Canada (1996) reports that the home language to mother tongue ratio for English is 122%, which means that many people (primarily Aboriginal people but including francophones and immigrants) who learned another language as their mother tongue are now using English as their primary home language. As well, English is the primary home language to approximately 34,000 NWT residents out of a total population of approximately 40,000, which indicates how dominant the English language has become in the NWT.

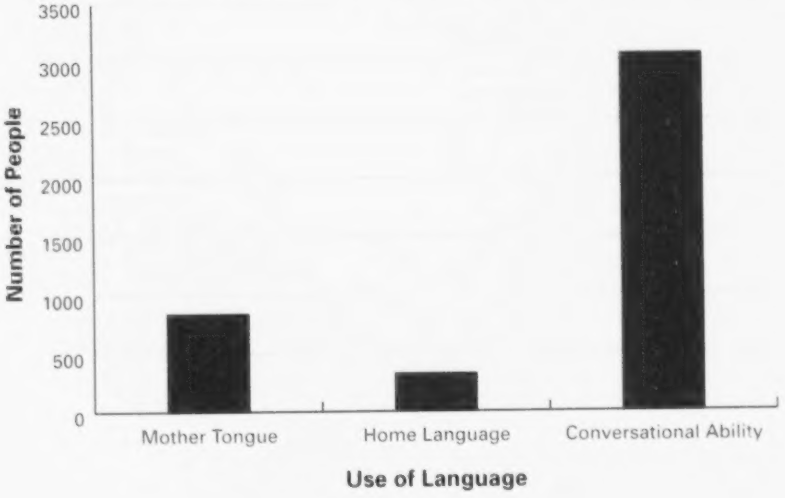
French (Français)

According to linguists, the French language in Canada, referred to as Canadian French (CF) actually consists of two main varieties: Quebec French (QF) and Acadian French (AF). These two varieties arose because the early French settlers in Acadia, for the most part, came from different regions of France than the settlers in Quebec. There are also varieties referred to as Ontario French (OF), western CF, and Métis French. As well, in Quebec, there are two sub-varieties: Standard Quebec French (SQF) — which is similar to Standard European French — and Common Quebec French (CQF), or *joual* (Papen, 1998). These differences are largely oral and the written language tends to be more standardized. The French spoken in the NWT is a mixture of these variations, depending on the mother tongue origins of the speaker. From a national and international viewpoint, French is a strong language, with approximately 6.6 million Canadians reporting French as their mother tongue and approximately 105 million speakers worldwide.

The largest francophone populations in the NWT are in the urban centres of Yellowknife, Hay River, Inuvik, and Fort Smith. As illustrated in Figure 4.8, French is the mother tongue of about 900 residents and the primary home language for about 350 residents, giving a home language to mother tongue ratio of 39%, which indicates that French language use is declining among francophones in the NWT.

Figure 4.8 also illustrates that, in the larger NWT population, over 3,000 residents speak French well enough to carry on a conversation, indicating that many non-francophones have learned French as a second language.

Figure 4.8. French language in the NWT (Source: NWT Bureau of Statistics)



The francophone community receives approximately $145 thousand per year for community-based cultural and language programming through the Canada-NWT Cooperation Agreement. This funding is routed through the Fédération Franco-TéNOise (FFT) and primarily distributed to their member associations in Inuvik, Yellowknife, Hay River, and Fort Smith. The FFT and its member organizations also receive core funding of $519 thousand per year through the federal Canada-Community Agreement. This funding supports administrative costs and cultural/language projects of the FFT and its member associations. In addition, Canadian Heritage provides $1.2

million per year through ECE for French first language schooling. This funding is currently routed through a *commission scolaire francophone de division* (French language school board) and funds the operation of French first language schools in Yellowknife and Hay River.

Gwich'in

The information for Gwich'in is primarily drawn from *Languages of the Land: A Resource Manual for Aboriginal Language Activists* (Crosscurrent Associates, 1999) and *Dinjii Zhuh Ginjik Hatr'agoodinjih Sro': Revised Draft* (Gwich'in Tribal Council, 1999).

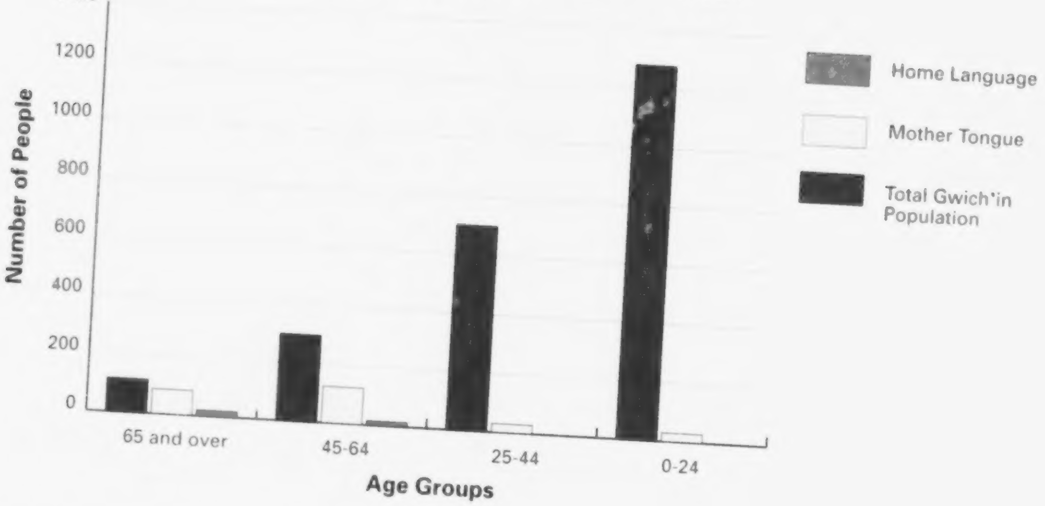
In the Northwest Territories, Gwich'in is the weakest of the Dene languages. According to Census Canada, during the period 1986 to 1996, the home language to mother tongue ratio for Gwich'in dropped from 57% to 15%. That is, for every 100 people who learned Gwich'in as their mother tongue, only 15 still use it regularly at home and are therefore attempting to pass it on to their children or grandchildren.

Gwich'in is the primary Aboriginal language of Fort McPherson (Teetl'it Zheh) and Tsiigehtchic, and is one of the two main Aboriginal languages used in Aklavik and Inuvik (along with Inuvialuktun). Gwich'in speakers also live in the Yukon and Alaska. According to the 1996 Census, the number of people in the NWT reporting Gwich'in as their mother tongue is approximately 260. The reported number of home language speakers is 40. The two main dialects of Gwich'in are Teetl'it Gwich'in (primarily spoken in Fort McPherson) and Gwichyah Gwich'in (primarily spoken in Tsiigehtchic).

The Evaluation of the Canada-NWT Cooperation Agreement for French and Aboriginal Languages in the NWT (1993) noted that only 4% of the people interviewed during the study used Gwich'in as their home language (this survey included Gwich'in who had English as a mother tongue). For 96% of respondents, English was identified as the dominant language in the home.

This dramatic decline is reflected in Figure 4.9, which utilizes Census Canada data, along with GNWT population data, to illustrate mother tongue and home language use by generation. This figure illustrates that a significant amount of language shift has already occurred in the 45-64 year old age group, in that less than half of this group learned Gwich'in as a mother tongue and a very small percentage currently use the language at home. Not surprisingly, mother tongue and home language use drops dramatically in the two younger age groups, to the point where Gwich'in, like Cree, is in a critical state.

Figure 4.9. Gwich'in language shift by age groups (Source: SCOL')



According to the language plan by the Gwich'in Tribal Council (1999), the serious decline in language usage is primarily due to two factors: residential schools and economic change. Residential schools have had a direct impact:

> *During the course of our consultations with Gwich'in communities, when asked to identify the cause of the language's sudden decline, many Elders pointed to their experiences in the residential school system.... Some spoke of being shipped off to residential schools, losing their ability to speak Gwich'in and their struggle to relearn it when they returned home ... the lasting effect of the schools was to undermine the value of Gwich'in relative to English. (p. 15)*

Economic changes over the past fifty years have also had a significant impact on the language:

> *A century ago, when the Gwich'in survived through traditional activities like hunting and fishing, an individual depended for his survival on activities carried out with family and community. Gwich'in was the language used in these relationships so there was not much need or incentive for people to learn English. The last fifty years, however, have seen immense changes that have transformed life in the Mackenzie Delta ... the Gwich'in people gradually abandoned their subsistence lifestyle and settled into permanent communities.... As the language of business and government was exclusively English, there was strong incentive for people to learn the language.... Parents, anxious that their children have good opportunities in life, began teaching English to their kids as a first language with the belief that this would improve their chances of finding employment. (p. 15)*

The extent of the decline is such that:

> *English currently dominates almost all aspects of family and community life. It is the language used in schools and workplaces, on television and in popular music. It is also the language most people use to communicate with friends and family. Even Elders who are more comfortable speaking Gwich'in make an effort to speak in English in many of their daily activities so that they can be understood. (Gwich'in Tribal Council, 1999, p. 4)*

Gwich'in language funding through the Canada-NWT Cooperation Agreement and GNWT is managed by the Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute located in Tsiigehtchic, under the authority of the Gwich'in Tribal Council. Funding amounts to approximately $160 thousand per year. The Institute also receives some core funding through the Tribal Council, as a result of the Gwich'in comprehensive land claims agreement. As well, a Gwich'in teaching and learning centre, associated with the Cultural Institute, has been operating in Fort McPherson since the late 1980s through the Beaufort-Delta Divisional Education Council, producing resource materials for the schools and general public.

Inuktitut (Including Inuvialuktun and Inuinnaqtun)

Languages of the Land: A Resource Manual for Aboriginal Language Activists (Crosscurrent Associates, 1999) and the *Inuvialuit Language Plan, Draft Version* (Regional Corporation, 1999) are the primary sources of information for this section.

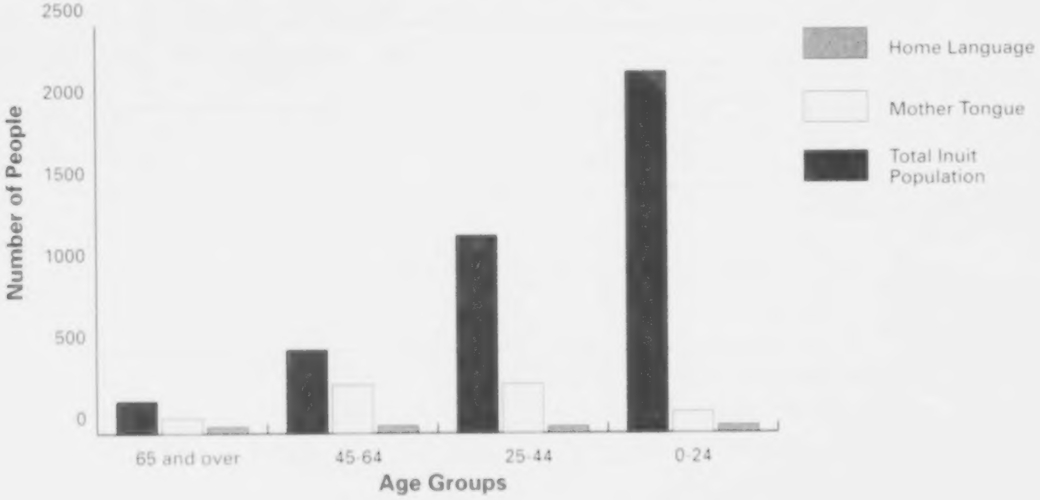
Up until March 31, 1999, the Northwest Territories included what is now Nunavut (commonly known in the north as the Eastern Arctic) which has a very large Inuit population whose traditional language is generally referred to as Inuktitut. The NWT is also home to an Inuit group that refers to itself as Inuvialuit and whose language is Inuvialuktun. The Inuvialuit reside in the Beaufort-Delta area (the Western Arctic) and were historically part of a whaling culture that extended west to Bering Strait. They traded among themselves, had similar hunting practices and technology, and close linguistic connection. A third Inuit language group (sometimes referred to as the Copper Inuit) straddles the eastern portion of the NWT and western portion of Nunavut (referred to as the Central Arctic). This group speaks Inuinnaqtun.

The *Official Languages Act* (1990) of the NWT recognizes all three of these Inuit languages. In the current NWT, Inuktitut speakers generally live in Yellowknife. The Inuktitut language remains very strong in Nunavut and, when the Eastern Arctic was a part of the NWT, a major portion of GNWT language resources and services were directed to this language. With the creation of Nunavut, the Eastern Arctic dialects of Inuktitut ceased to be an 'indigenous' language in the NWT. However, the GNWT and other NWT agencies have been contracted by the new Government of Nunavut to continue providing certain services to Inuit living in Nunavut, particularly training and health services.

Inuvialuktun is now the predominant Inuit language in the NWT, and is spoken in the communities of Inuvik, Aklavik, Tuktoyaktuk, Sachs Harbour, Paulatuk, and Holman. Inuinnaqtun is primarily rooted in Holman. Documents prepared by Inuvialuit organizations, including the *Inuvialuit Language Plan, Draft Version* (Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, 1999) sometimes use the term Inuvialuktun to refer to both Inuvialuktun and Inuinnaqtun.

Census Canada does not identify Inuvialuktun and Inuinnaqtun as distinct languages — statistically, they have been included with Inuktitut and have been overwhelmed by Eastern Arctic statistics. However, for the purposes of this report, the GNWT Bureau of Statistics broke out the 1996 Census Canada statistics for the Northwest Territories excluding Nunavut. Although these statistics still include Inukititut speakers in centres such as Yellowknife, they are a reasonable reflection of the status of the Inuvialuktun and Inuinnaqtun languages. Figure 4.10 illustrates the shift in mother tongue and home language usage for different age groups within the NWT's Inuktitut (including Inuvialuktun and Inuinnaqtun) language communities.

Figure 4.10. Inuktitut (Inuvialuktun & Inuinnaqtun) language shift by age groups (Source: SCOL.)



These statistics indicate that language decline has already taken place among the elders, in that less than half the elders have Inuktitut (including Inuvialuktun and Inuinnaqtun) as their mother tongue. This language shift among elders (which is less evident among other Aboriginal language communities) is consistent with historical evidence of the early impact of whaling in the Beaufort-Delta. As with other language communities, the percentages for mother tongue and home language use declines with each succeeding generation, to the point that home use is negligible. These languages are clearly in critical condition.

These statistics are consistent with a detailed Inuvialuktun language assessment that was carried out by the New Economy Development Group in 1993 as a component of the *Evaluation of the Canada-NWT Cooperation Agreement for the French and Aboriginal Languages in the NWT*. During this study, one hundred and seventy six people from the communities of Inuvik, Sachs Harbour, and Tuktoyaktuk were interviewed. In this study, the following results were noted:

- Approximately 31% of the respondents learned Inuvialuktun as a first language
- Only 19% indicated that it was now their most fluent language
- Only 7% said that it was their home language. English was the home language of 93% of respondents
- The most fluent age group was adults 45 years of age and older, with a 70% fluency rate
- None of the respondents under the age of 25 was fluent.

According to the Inuvialuit Language Plan, Draft Version *(Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, 1999)*, Inuvialuktun fits the characteristics of a threatened language:

> *A survey by the Cultural Resource Centre found that only 38 percent of the 450 people polled claimed they can speak Inuvialuktun. The highest number of people who indicated that they had some language ability lived in Holman. The smallest number lived in Inuvik. Most people who indicated that they spoke the language fluently were 55 years and older. Inuvialuktun is rarely heard or seen in the communities or at events and most homes use English as the first language. (p. 1)*

The Inuinnaqtun language of Holman is spoken in the neighbouring Central Arctic communities of Nunavut. The Nunavut Government has recently drafted new official languages legislation that would both protect and promote the use of Inuinnaqtun in Nunavut, thereby providing a wider base of support for Inuinnaqtun in Holman.

For Inuvialuktun generally, an alarming language shift has occurred in just three generations — grandparents to grandchildren. With no fluent child speakers emerging (no mother tongue speakers being raised) the language is in serious danger of being lost within the next generation. According to the Inuvialuit, the main factors leading to the loss of their language are:

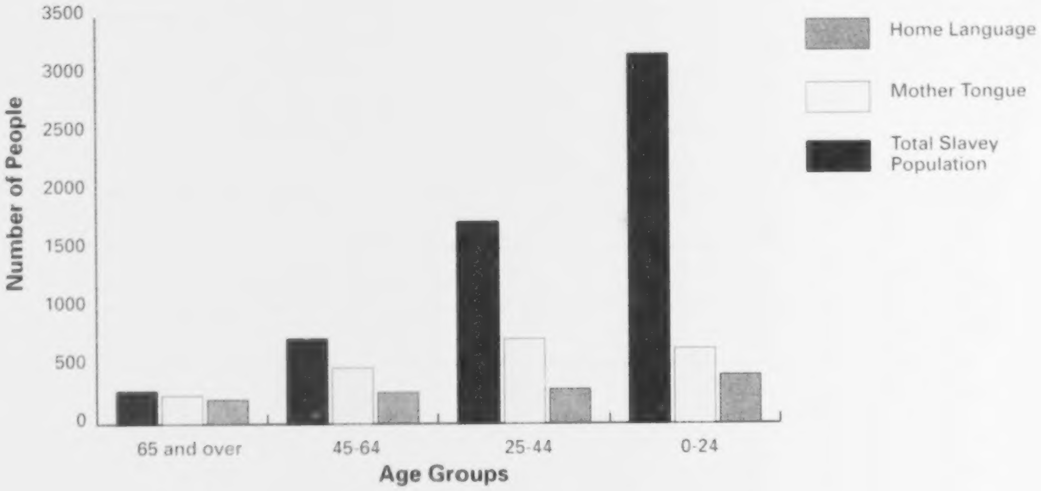
- Residential schools and the current school system
- Mass media and the electronic age
- Economic factors
- Social factors such as intermarriage, family dysfunction, a rapidly growing youth population, and decreased visibility of the language
- Attitudes of shame and apathy
- Linguistic factors (de-acquisition)
- Lack of leadership on language issues.

The Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre in Inuvik, which also functions as the teaching and learning centre for the region, manages the language funding received through the Canada-NWT Cooperation Agreement and the GNWT. This funding is for all three of the Inuit languages identified in the *Official Languages Act* and totals approximately $250 thousand per year.

Slavey (Including North Slavey and South Slavey)

Census Canada does not differentiate between North and South Slavey so the statistics for these languages are combined. Although a section is devoted to each of these languages below, the combined data is also presented because it illustrates the overall intergenerational language shift that is occurring. Figure 4.11 clearly shows that mother tongue fluency and home use remain high among elders, but begin to drop with each succeeding generation, with the most significant shift occurring among the youngest generation. These statistics also show that a relatively large number of young people have Slavey as their mother tongue and continue to use the language at home. This indicates that there is a potential base for language revitalization efforts. However, the rate of decline increases dramatically among generations and, without intervention, language use will likely continue to decline.

Figure 4.11. Slavey (North Slavey & South Slavey) language shift by age groups (Source: SCOL)



North Slavey

This information is primarily taken from *Languages of the Land: A Resource Manual for Aboriginal Language Activists* (Crosscurrent Associates, 1999b) and from the *Sahtú Kǫ́ Káyúrı̨ı̨la Denewá Kədə Dágúʔǫ́ ʔeratłé — Sahtu Region Dene Language Planning Report* (Crosscurrent Associates, 2000).

North Slavey is the language of the Sahtu region, which includes the traditional communities of Délı̨ne, Tulít'a, Fort Good Hope (Rádęlı̨ Kǫ́), and Colville Lake (K'áhbamı̨túé), along with the industrial community of Norman Wells (Tłegǫ́hłı̨). The North Slavey language is actually made up of at least three relatively distinct dialects: Sahtúot'ıne, K'ashogot'ıne, and Shúhtáot'ıne. Although the terms North Slavey and Sahtu Dene have both been used to describe the people and language of the region as a whole, there does not appear to be consensus on the best term to use. The delegates at a Sahtu regional language planning conference held in February 2000 chose to use the term Dene to refer to the language generally, with the more specific dialect terms being used whenever possible.

Census Canada data regarding the North Slavey language has been grouped together with South Slavey under the general term Slavey, making it difficult to assess shift specific to each language. However, a language assessment carried out as a component of the *Evaluation of the Canada-NWT Cooperation Agreement for French and Aboriginal Languages in the NWT* (New Economy Development Group, 1993) provided data specific to the North Slavey language, based on interviews with 160 people in Délı̨ne, Rádęlı̨ Kǫ́, Tulít'a, and Inuvik. According to this report:

- 63% of the respondents learned North Slavey as a first language
- 54% indicated that North Slavey was their most fluent language and 45% use it most frequently at home.

This report also documents an obvious and steady decline in language use over three generations — grandparents to grandchildren:

- Almost 100% of the 45 year and over age group were fluent in the language
- Approximately 50% of the 25 to 44 year old age group were fluent
- Only 10% of the respondents under the age of 25 were fluent.

This information demonstrates that the Dene language in the Sahtu region is declining rapidly among the living generations.

Dene language use varies greatly among the communities in the region, with Délı̨ne having the highest home language/mother tongue ratio (85%) and Fort Good Hope (Rádęlı̨ Kǫ́) having the lowest (37%). As well, in Tulít'a and Rádęlı̨ Kǫ́, the majority of people who completed the 1996 Census listed English as their mother tongue, which means that the English language has already become dominant in their homes and families.

Community delegates at the 2000 Language Planning Conference were asked to rate the condition of their language based on Bauman's (1980) assessment chart. According to delegates:

- The Dene language in Délı̨ne and Colville Lake (K'áhbamı̨túé) is in rapid transition from being enduring to declining
- The Dene language in Rádęlı̨ Kǫ́ and Tulít'a are declining languages with clear signs of becoming obsolete in these communities
- The Dene language in Norman Wells (Tłegǫ́hlı̨) has such a small population base that it could become obsolete very quickly.

According to delegates, the Dene language is used most often among elders, speaking with elders, story telling, on the land, in traditional gatherings, and in some homes. Attitudes toward the language vary. The most common attitudes identified were as follows:

- Young people are ashamed or afraid of speaking the language because they might be laughed at or criticized for making mistakes or not speaking it very well
- Elders worry that the language is being lost because it is not being taught at home
- Lifestyles are changing so there is less respect and value for the language
- Some people still feel proud to speak their language and gain a strong sense of identity from it.

Canada-NWT Cooperation Agreement and the GNWT funding for the North Slavey language, which averages approximately $160 thousand per year, is managed by the Sahtu Secretariat Inc. and coordinated by a regional language committee. A North Slavey teaching and learning centre under the Sahtu Divisional Educational Council operated out of Délînê for many years but has recently been moved to Norman Wells. It produces some resource materials for schools throughout the region.

South Slavey (Dene Zhatie/Deh Cho Dene)

This information has primarily been adapted from *Languages of the Land: A Resource Manual for Aboriginal Language Activists* (Crosscurrent Associates, 1999), the *Final Report, Deh Cho Language Plan* (Deh Cho First Nations, 1999), and *Bringing the Dene Zhatie home* (Deh Cho First Nations, 2000).

According to Census Canada (1996), there were approximately 2400 people in Canada who reported South Slavey as their mother tongue. The language is spoken in the south-western region of the NWT (the Deh Cho region), north-western Alberta, and north-eastern British Columbia. In the NWT, the majority of the speakers live in the Deh Cho region, which consists of ten communities: Fort Liard (Echaot'ı̨ę Kų́ę́), Fort Simpson (Łíídlı̨ı̨́ Kų́ę́), Wrigley (Pehdzeh K'ı), Nahanni Butte (Nahɂą Dehé), Trout Lake (Sambaa K'e), Jean Marie River (Tthek'éhdélı̨), Fort Providence (Zhahtıe Kų́ę́ or Deh Gah Got'ıe Kų́ę́), Kakisa (K'ágee Tu), Hay River Reserve (K'átł'odeeche), and the Town of Hay River, which includes the West Point (Ts'ueh Nda) First Nation.

In the *Official Languages Act*, the language is referred to as Slavey, but the people of the Deh Cho generally use the term 'Dene Zhatie'. The term 'Deh Cho Dene' has also been used. There are a number of dialect differences among the Deh Cho communities. For lack of better terminology, there is the K'átł'odeeche Dene dialect, the Kakisa/Trout Lake dialect, the Fort Providence/Fort Simpson dialect, the 'p' dialect of Wrigley, and the Liard dialect, although speakers are able to communicate freely among the different communities.

South Slavey is one of the stronger languages in the NWT. Although the home language to mother tongue ratio dropped between 1986 and 1996, the 1996 Census notes that 59% of those people who learned South Slavey as a first language still speak it regularly at home. However, according to the *Evaluation of the Canada-NWT Cooperation Agreement for the French and Aboriginal Languages in the NWT* (New Economy Development Group, 1993), based on interviews with speakers in the Deh Cho, a significant decline in language use is occurring rapidly among the three living generations, with the most significant decline occurring between the current generation of parents and their children. For this report, 193 people were interviewed. This study concluded that:

- All of the respondents (100%) over the age of 45 were fluent in their language
- 70% of the respondents between the ages of 25 to 44 were also fluent
- Slightly over 20% of the respondents under the age of 25 were fluent.

This data indicates that fluency has dropped from 100% among the elders' generation to 20% among the youth and children. Again, most of this drop has occurred between parents (70% fluency) and their children (20% fluency). With a high fluency rate among middle-aged adults, there is good potential for retention and revitalization within families. But if this decline continues, very few of the young people today will have their Aboriginal language to share with their own children in the future.

As noted early in this chapter, the Deh Cho First Nations also carried out an extensive sociolinguistic survey of language use within the region, published in *Bringing the Dene Zhatie home* (Deh Cho First Nations, 2000). This study utilized local fieldworkers to interview youth, adults, and elders in each of the Deh Cho communities. The topics covered in the interviews included: language of preference, language of education, attendance at residential school, first language, fluency level, and roles and responsibilities for language teaching.

The study established four categories of language fluency — child, youth, traditional, and elder — with the traditional level considered as being fluent and the elder level considered highly fluent. This study concluded that:

- 64.1 % of the Elders speak the Dene Language fluently
- 37.7 % of the Adults speak the Dene Language fluently
- 12.9 % of the Youth speak the Dene Language fluently
- 2.9 % of the Children speak the Dene Language fluently
  (Bonnetrouge, J., 2000, *Covering letter to Bringing the Dene Zhatie home*, p. 1).

This study's author also concluded that:

- "Dene have given in to the fact the Dene language is dying and the majority has given up on the language and culture. For example, one community, although strong culturally, the culture is being passed on to the children in English. In some communities both culture and language are weak and almost non-existent"
- "The majority of Dene are alienated from the land" and the "Deh Cho Dene cannot allow their language to die" (Bonnetrouge, J., 2000, *Covering letter to Bringing the Dene Zhatie home*, p. 2).

In its individual community assessments, the report identified some of the factors that have led to the rapid shift in language use within the Deh Cho. The main factors include disconnection from the land (and therefore from the culture in which the languages were rooted); the impact of English language schooling (including residential and day schooling); the impact of television and other English language media; cultural shaming; and the dominance of English in the workplace.

Funding for South Slavey under the Canada-NWT Cooperation Agreement and the GNWT is managed by the Deh Cho First Nations and totals approximately $220 thousand per year. A part-time language coordinator oversees the funding of community-based projects. A Deh Cho teaching and learning centre has been operating in Fort Simpson since the 1980s under the authority of the Deh Cho Divisional Education Council and produces South Slavey resource materials for the schools.

The Michif Language

Michif is not an official language of the NWT. However, during the information-gathering phase of the Special Committee's research, questions were raised about the status and value of Michif as a language of the Métis. These questions are particularly important given that the Métis have constitutional recognition as Aboriginal people.

The term 'Michif' has the same origins as the term 'Métis' and is derived from the Canadian French term 'Mitif', meaning 'mixed'. It refers to several different varieties of speech used by Métis people in various parts of North America. The two main Michif varieties in northern Canada are Michif Cree (or French Cree) and Michif French (or Métis French). Michif Cree blends French nouns and Cree verbs, but is not a simplified version of either: it is entirely unique, and very difficult to classify linguistically. There does not appear to be any documented evidence of Michif Cree in the NWT, but it may have some speakers in the southeastern portion of the territory. The more common form of Michif in the NWT is Michif French, which has come to be recognized as a genuine and acceptable dialect of French. Although, linguistically, French Michif is a dialect of French, historically it belongs to the Métis people. At the present time, elders in some southern NWT communities still speak the language (Harnum, 2002b).

The Métis Heritage Association of the NWT (the predecessor to the current Métis Cultural Institute) has been pursuing the issue of Michif since the early 1990s. In March 2002, the Board of the Métis Cultural Institute endorsed the recognition of Michif as an official language of the

NWT. At this point in time, SCOL may consider recommending one of the following options regarding Michif:

- Grant official language status to Michif as an Aboriginal language of the NWT. In this case, however, criteria would have to be established for determining when and how languages could be added or removed from the *Official Languages Act*.
- Establish some other formal level of recognition for Michif, which would allow it to be eligible for language funding. In this case, a definition of the differing levels of status possible in the *Act* would have to be established.
- Provide interim funding for further research and consultation regarding the language, including the option of establishing formal status for the language, with further decisions to be made once this work has been carried out.

Observations and Conclusions

1. The pace of language shift in the NWT is clearly accelerating, with significant Aboriginal language loss among our younger generations. For some of our languages, the situation overall is critical. For the other Aboriginal languages, the situation is critical in some communities and of serious concern in most others. Language shift toward English is the common trend, even for the French language.

   The Special Committee believes it likely in the foreseeable future that our official languages other than English will be used even less as home languages in many of our regions, will not be passed on to younger generations, and will therefore become obsolescent within the NWT. We will have official languages in name only.
   The Special Committee believes that all stakeholders must acknowledge the seriousness of this situation and make concerted and coordinated efforts to preserve and revitalize our official languages.

2. The Special Committee acknowledges the value of having accurate and consistent data and information about our official languages. This data must include statistical information such as that provided by Census Canada and the Labour Force surveys, but must also include more detailed sociolinguistic information on each of our official languages, particularly our Aboriginal languages. The statistical data must be gathered and organized in a consistent manner by a designated agency so it is possible to track language shift within each language group over an extended period of time.

   The process and systems for gathering sociolinguistic data and information should also be consistent among the language communities so that is it possible to compare language shift between communities and also compile regional information into an overall territorial reporting format. Accurate and reliable data are necessary elements to good planning, equity in programming, and accountability.

3. The Special Committee supports the use of Dene terms for the Dene official languages, where there is consensus within the specific language community for those terms.

4. The Special Committee believes that the Inuvialuit/Inuinnaqtun language community should provide advice to the Legislative Assembly on whether to continue including Inuktitut as an official language of the NWT.

5. The Special Committee believes that further research be carried out with respect to Michif to determine an appropriate status and designation for the language.

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1 End Note: Total Aboriginal population numbers have been constructed by SCOL. Age group populations were determined using the representative age group distributions from the 1996 Census Canada data and applying this to the total Aboriginal population numbers in ECE (2001d) *Revitalizing, enhancing, and promoting Aboriginal languages — Strategies for supporting Aboriginal languages.*

CHAPTER 5

LANGUAGE REVITALIZATION: THEORY AND PROMISING PRACTICE

Introduction

Chapter 4 clearly shows that all of our Aboriginal languages are in a state of decline and that some of these languages are struggling to survive as viable languages within the Northwest Territories. Also clear is the fact that use of the French language within the NWT is declining and that English is becoming increasingly entrenched as the dominant language of home, work, and school throughout the territory. These trends are rooted in historical relationships and policies that, for over two centuries, have tended to devalue and suppress Aboriginal languages and have restricted French language rights outside of Quebec. These trends have continued in the NWT even with the enactment of the *Official Languages Act* in 1984 and in spite of federal — and territorial-funded language initiatives over the past two decades.

But what can we do that we have not already tried? And why do most of our official languages continue to decline in spite of our efforts? This chapter provides some answers and direction with respect to both of these questions. The chapter begins with a discussion of the concept of language rights, then provides an overview of the theory of language revitalization (often called 'reversing language shift' or RSL) and examines some of the promising practices of other language communities throughout the world. By utilizing benchmarks in international and national language revitalization practice, we can examine the impacts of our efforts over the past two decades, particularly since the amendments to the *Official Languages Act* proclaimed our indigenous Aboriginal languages as official languages. This chapter concludes with the outline of a framework that can be applied to the assessment, planning, and implementation of official language initiatives. This framework is then used in the report's final chapters to assess the scope and effectiveness of official languages legislation, policy, and revitalization practices and to guide the development and evaluation of enhanced plans and initiatives.

This chapter's sources include texts and articles regarding linguistic theory; language legislation and protocols; sociolinguistic and minority languages studies and reports; and government reports and documents. The chapter provides a summary of those approaches and practices that appear to be most relevant to our northern language situation rather than an exhaustive review of the literature. The Special Committee is aware that our situation, with eleven official languages, is very unique and poses considerable challenge that other language jurisdictions do not have. The Committee has approached the theory and practice of language revitalization with the perspective that we, as government and a society generally, can and must do better.

Theories and Approaches to Language Revitalization

In Chapter 2, the Special Committee reviewed the value of our official languages from a resource-based perspective and concluded that our languages have social, environmental, and economic value for all peoples of the NWT. The Committee focused on encouraging a resource-based approach to language preservation and revitalization in order to encourage all citizens to contribute to language initiatives because they value them, not necessarily because they are obligated to. However, most language preservation and revitalization initiatives in the world are grounded in language rights of some sort. Therefore, before reviewing general theories and approaches to language revitalization, a brief overview of the concept of language rights is required.

A Brief Overview of Language Rights

According to Joseph Magnet, contemporary language rights have risen as a result of the realignment of nation states after World War I: "Linguistic communities found themselves incorporated into new state structures, often as minorities. This gave rise to difficult questions about the status of minority languages in government operations, schools and the private economy" (Magnet, 1995, p. 3). Although early theory regarding nation-states suggested that reducing differences of language, ethnicity, and religion would create more peaceful nations, "the force of community loyalty proved stronger than nationalism" (p. 3) and conflicts within and among nation states often resulted when minority rights were suppressed. Clearly, another approach was needed:

... most language preservation and revitalization initiatives in the world are grounded in language rights of some sort.

> *The failure of force to create stable relations between sub-national groups led to a new approach. States tried to accommodate sub-national minorities by recognizing and adapting state structures to the peculiar attributes of religion, ethnicity and language which comprised their populations. This is the origin of language rights. Language rights are born from an attempt to create stable multinational states out of heterogenous peoples. Language rights are inspired by the idea that states fare better where citizen differences are tolerated and respected rather than suppressed. (p. 4)*

Language rights may have originated as "compromises designed to create stable nation-states and a smooth international order, not to enhance individual liberty" (p. 4), but current international protocols do identify some language and cultural rights as fundamental human rights, with some limitations. The *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (1948) states that people cannot be discriminated against because of their language and that parents have a right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children. The *International Covenant of Civil and Political Rights* (1966), Article 27, states that linguistic minorities cannot be denied the right to use their own language. Further, the *Convention on the Rights of the Child* (1989) states that education must be directed toward the development of respect for the child's parents, cultural identity, language, and values. Following an international language conference in Barcelona in 1996, attended by representatives of 90 states and supported by UNESCO, the *Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights* was published. Article 3.1 of this Declaration defines some 'inalienable personal rights which may be exercised in any situation':

- The right to be recognized as a member of a language community
- The right to the use of one's language both in private and in public
- The right to the use of one's own name [although this may appear obvious, many Aboriginal people in Canada were given new names by missionaries and government agencies who could not pronounce or spell traditional names]
- The right to interrelate and associate with other members of one's language community or origin
- The right to maintain and develop one's own culture
- All other internationally recognized language rights.

Article 3.2 identifies collective language rights that may apply in certain circumstances:

- The right for one's own language and culture to be taught
- The right of access to cultural services
- The right to an equitable presence of one's language and culture in the communications media
- The right to receive attention in one's own language from government bodies and in socioeconomic relations (p. 4).

The Declaration differentiates between the rights of language communities and language groups. According to Article 1 of the Declaration, a language 'community' consists of people who share the same language and who are indigenous to a particular geographic area. A language 'group', however, consists of people who share the same language but who have come to occupy the territory, including the social space, of another indigenous language community.

Article 3.3 of the Declaration states that the right of language groups to use their own language in private and public must not " … restrict the rights of the host community or its members to the full public use of the community's own language throughout its territorial space." This Declaration effectively supports the right of any individual to utilize his or her mother tongue privately or publicly in any jurisdiction, but also clearly emphasizes the right of a language community to take measures to preserve and promote the integrity of its language and culture within its own territory. It calls upon people who move into that territory to adapt to both the language and cultural norms of the host language community, while maintaining key elements of their own cultural identity. These articles suggest that our indigenous Aboriginal languages have special, collective language rights within their homelands that must be respected.

MacMillan (1998) identifies two main types of language rights: toleration-oriented rights and promotion-oriented rights, with promotion-oriented rights broken in two further categories — weak promotion and strong promotion. Toleration-oriented rights are "synonymous with liberty rights and refer to the right to be left alone. They are characterized by the absence of prohibitive legislation" (p. 13). Toleration rights, as defined by MacMillan, are similar to those inalienable personal rights listed in the Barcelona Declaration.

Promotion-oriented rights, however, express a commitment by the state to support a particular language. "Primarily, this involves use of the language in public institutions, both political and administrative (including judicial), and in the public schools. These rights require actions and expenditures by public authorities on behalf of a particular language group" (p. 13). Promotion rights are similar to those collective language rights listed in the Declaration. According to MacMillan (1998), "Weak promotion refers to actions taken to ensure that a language can be sustained and in some measure encouraged" (p. 13) and includes legislation such as the *Official Languages Act* (1969) of Canada. On the other hand, "Strong promotion aims to ensure that individuals can live their lives in their own language…. Strong promotion is best exemplified by the provisions of Quebec's *Charter of the French Language*" (p. 13) and normally only apply within a defined linguistic territory.

> *The existence of the language [community] is thus an essential precondition to the meaningful assertion of language rights ... language rights in their most substantial, strong-promotion-oriented form are territorially rooted in the institutions and social networks of a particular geographic space. (p. 31)*

Strong promotion rights are intended to provide protection and security for a language:

> *The point of language rights is to give speakers a secure environment in which to make choices about language use, and in which normal social processes of language transmission between generations can take place in a way that confers positive value on the resulting ethnic and cultural identification…. It holds that the ultimate fate of a language community is up to its members, but they should*

> *be protected from unfair or coercive pressures distorting normal practices of language use and transmission. (Réaume, 1991, pp. 46-47)*

But strong promotion rights also must take into account individual language choices:

> *[Kymlicka] distinguished between rights that offer external protection from the dominant society versus those that impose internal restrictions on the group members and argued that the latter are unjustifiable. An example would arise where members of Aboriginal communities were required to be educated in their traditional language, that is, did not have the option of choosing an education in the dominant language of the society. (Kymlicka, 1998, p. 35)*

Balancing individual and collective language rights in the NWT is particularly complex. There are nine official Aboriginal languages, most of which have relatively distinct homelands but some of which overlap, and two official non-Aboriginal languages with a long historical presence in the north and constitutional protection, one of which, English, is especially dominant, even within indigenous language homelands. The role of language legislation in this situation is to provide some clarity regarding the interpretation, implementation, and balancing of individual and collective language rights within our shared geographic area:

Balancing individual and collective language rights in the NWT is particularly complex.

> *The fundamental goal of all language legislation is to resolve, in one way or another, the linguistic problems arising from … linguistic contacts, conflicts, and inequalities, by legally determining and establishing the status and use of the languages in question. Preference is given to the protection, defence or promotion of one or several designated languages through legal language obligations and language rights drawn up to that end. (Turi, 1994, p. 111)*

According to Turi, language rights are only effective to the extent that those rights are enshrined in laws that identify "as precisely as possible" the holders and beneficiaries of those rights along with the legal sanctions that apply when they are violated (p. 116).

In summary, there appears to be inalienable individual language rights that apply in all situations as well as collective language rights that are generally attached to a geographic language territory. These rights, aside from their intrinsic human value, stem from the need to create a stable society through tolerance and respect rather than through coercion or suppression. Governments acknowledge language rights to varying degrees through the establishment of legislation and public policy, which, once established, become an important element of language preservation and revitalization.

General Theories and Approaches to Language Revitalization

The academic study of language shift and language revitalization is relatively new: most of the contemporary literature begins in the 1970s. Since then, theoretical frameworks and terminology have been developed and utilized, but consensus has yet to be achieved on a single framework or typology for the study of endangered languages.

> *Studies of endangered languages are at a stage where they use widely different frames of reference and terminology. Even the subject as a whole has no agreed name. Terms such as* obsolescence, moribund, *and* endangered *are employed in a variety of senses.... Lists of causative factors ... are eclectic and impressionistic, well motivated by individual case studies, but lacking in generality.... At the grass-roots level, there must be an enormous amount of 'rediscovering the wheel' going on around the world, as researchers and community advisors, uncertain whether other initiatives and experiences apply to them, promote activities of their own devising. In a climate of urgency, at times almost of panic, it is understandable to see a philosophy of 'anything is better than nothing' so widespread. But we know from other fields ... that a policy of 'diving in', or of reacting only to the most apparent needs, can produce results that are short-term and inefficient. (Crystal, 2000, pp. 93-94)*

To establish a practical language revitalization framework to evaluate the NWT's legislation and initiatives and make recommendations for the future, the Special Committee reviewed the work of linguists such as Bauman (1980), Fishman (1991, 1996, 2000), Fettes (1992), Crystal (2000), and Hinton (2001) along with the policy, planning, and implementation frameworks of governments and agencies addressing Aboriginal and French language issues in Canada. These agencies include the Assembly of First Nations (1990, 1991, 2001), the Government of Saskatchewan's (1997) Department of Education, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (1996), and as in MacMillan (1998) the Quebec government.

Although "Joshua Fishman (1991, 1996) maintains that there are no simple answers and, as of yet, no complete step by step procedure to follow that has been proven to save a dying language" (Government of Saskatchewan, 1997, p. 14), the literature does make it clear that the

Benoît Boutin, Committee Coordinator, Steven Nitah, SCOL Chair and David M. Hamilton, Committee Clerk, at the public hearings in Yellowknife, March 2002.

first step in language revitalization is language planning — and there is, at least, a broad, generally-accepted framework for language planning.

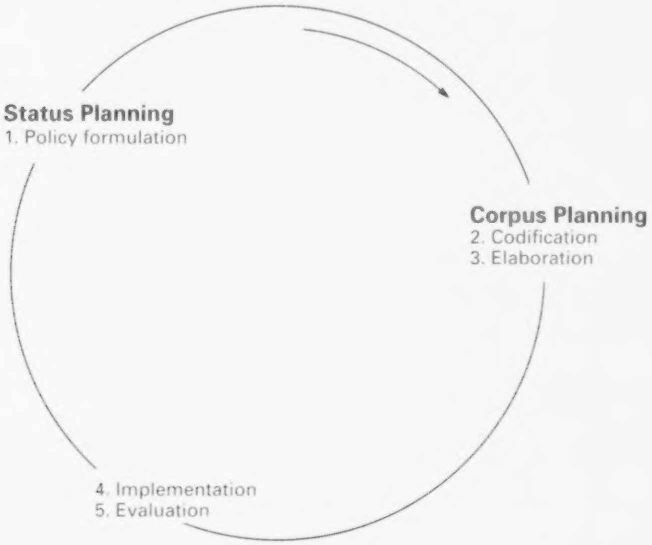
> *The conceptual framework for planning as outlined by Fishman (1991), Haugen (1985), and Ruiz (1984, 1988) is presently being used in a great many international contexts. This language planning model outlines five important stages or processes that fall within two main categories. One category deals with the value and role of language, known as status language planning, and the other deals more specifically with the language itself and the details of how to build, rejuvenate, record, and provide materials for this process. This is known as corpus planning. In order for a language plan to be effective, one aspect cannot take place without the other. In fact, they need to happen fairly simultaneously (p. 11).*

Figure 5.1 illustrates the five important stages or processes of the planning model:

- Policy formation (the primary status planning element), and
- Codification, elaboration, implementation, and evaluation (which are the four corpus planning elements).

Status planning relates to defining, through policy, the value and role of a language within a community or society generally, and can range from establishing organizational polices that support language use, to official languages legislation, to constitutional protection, depending on the needs and circumstances of the particular language and language community. Status planning provides the theoretical base for the *Official Languages Act* of the NWT. Although status planning can be based on the language as a resource perspective taken in Chapter 2, status planning must inherently address the issue of language rights as well.

Figure 5.1. Language planning model (Source: Adapted from Ruiz, 1990, p. 12)



The four stages or processes of corpus planning are all directly relevant to the NWT. Codification includes anything that needs to be done to record, document, and standardize a language — and can include things like the documentation of a language through oral history research, the standardization of a language, the clarification of grammar and syntax, and the writing of a dictionary. Elaboration is an enhanced form of codification and is based on the premise that all languages change, adapt, and grow over time. Elaboration primarily involves terminology development that allows a language to respond to new situations, such as changes in governance, technology, and the economy.

Implementation refers to the development and, obviously, implementation, of corpus planning goals within the policy framework that has been established through status planning.

> *This is the place where the many decisions are made regarding ways to meet the goals articulated in the status planning, and to develop appropriate programs. This stage is essential, for without it the various components of status and corpus planning are like pieces of a puzzle that never get put together. (Government of Saskatchewan, 1997, p. 13)*

The final stage (or cycle) of corpus planning is evaluation. "At the evaluation stage, the plan can be adjusted, redefined, clarified, and new plans made. It is an ongoing process. Established policies need to be revisited and rethought. As the languages change, so should the policy to support and promote them" (p. 13). Chapter 3 provides a history of status planning in the NWT and summarizes some of the documents prepared over the past decade that have, in their own way, contributed to the evaluation stage of corpus planning. In fact, the current work of the Special Committee on Official Languages is largely fulfilling the evaluation stage of corpus planning for languages in the NWT: the recommendations made in this report by the Special Committee will lead to a renewed cycle of status and corpus planning. The status and corpus planning model provides a broad framework for language revitalization, but goals for a particular language must be developed with an understanding of the relative condition of a language, using scales of endangerment and other assessment typologies.

Fishman (1991) identified eight stages of language shift, along with appropriate revitalization strategies for each stage. His typology has been the most quoted in the language field, is very practical, and is based on the research of over sixty linguists working in minority language situations around the world. Fishman developed a Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale to assess the condition of a language and identify appropriate revitalization activities. He stressed the need to focus on providing support for young parents so they can speak the language to their children, along with language reinforcement through bilingual education programs and promotion and use of the language throughout the community. He also emphasized the importance of building consensus and support within a language community for language revitalization activities.

The Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale refers to the extent to which traditional language transmission has been replaced by a new language. The Scale identifies 8 stages of disruption, beginning with Stage 1, which reflects a secure language community, and continuing through Stage 8, which reflects a severely affected language community.

Stage 1 Situation: The level of use and proficiency in the language is high among the general population.

Suggested Language Efforts:

- Offer higher level education in the language
- Use the language for industrial and technological purposes
- Conduct international relations in the language.

Anticipated Results: Cultural autonomy is attained.

Stage 2 Situation: Intergenerational transmission is secure and the community is maintaining its own ethno-linguistic identity.

Suggested Language Efforts:

- Provide comprehensive government services in the language of the community and hire language users
- Produce radio and TV programs in the language.

Anticipated Results: Bilingualism is recognized and valued by citizens of all language communities.

Stage 3 Situation: Language use is stable and proficient in the home and community.

Suggested Language Efforts:

- Assure use of the language at work.

Anticipated Results: The status of the language is recognized outside the speech community and its use has been extended beyond the home and language community and into the workplace and other major community functions.

Stage 4 Situation: The spoken and written language is stabilized at the community level.

Suggested Language Efforts:

- Provide compulsory education — its success depends upon the effectiveness of curriculum, teaching materials, ability of teachers, and community control.

Anticipated Results: Schooling reinforces mother tongue transmission and the community's language needs (it cannot replace them).

Stage 5 Situation: The spoken language is stable at the level of family and community.

Suggested Language Efforts:

- Support literacy in the home, school, and community — under the control of the community.

Anticipated Results: The functional use of the language is expanded and begins to be formalized (written language is generally used in more formal and public arenas while the spoken language is used in social and cultural settings).

Stage 6 Situation: The spoken language is transmitted from parents to children in a natural way.

Suggested Language Efforts:

- Reinforce the spoken language of youth with older generations, the extended family, and in the community
- Initiate community-wide cultural activities that are frequent and scheduled (predictable) and where only that language is allowed
- Support by radio, TV, exchange visits, taped stories, songs and games for children, and family services.

Anticipated Results: By using the language, younger generations create their own families of language speakers and connect to the extended family and larger community of language speakers. A growing number of speakers reinforce language acquisition among themselves and create social norms and interactions that support the acquisition and maintenance of the language.

Stage 7 Situation: Most users of the language are elders but they still interact culturally with other generations.

Suggested Language Efforts:

- Link fluent elders with youth of child-bearing age to re-establish the use of the language in child-rearing practices
- Support youth of child-bearing age in language acquisition and maintenance through youth groups, parent associations, and residential communities (immersion opportunities).

Anticipated Results: These actions support reconnection of the elders with younger generations and the development of a group of second-language users who are committed to speaking the language with their own children from birth to age two and beyond.

Stage 8 Situation: Most users of the language are elders who are socially isolated.

Suggested Language Efforts:

- Restore and reconstruct the language (vocabularies and grammars)
- Preserve it through oral histories and other means
- Begin teaching it to others to generate more speakers.

Anticipated Results: The language is painstakingly reassembled and relearned in a cultural context. Learners will acquire a limited command of the language, the language will be part of a cultural revival but may never attain daily functions.

These stages of disruption and their required strategies obviously overlap within any language community but reflect the main trends and priorities for actions at different, broad stages of language shift. Fishman (1991) stresses the importance of Stage 6:

> *... one must take special pains to facilitate the formulation and concentration of the home-family-neighbourhood-community institutions and processes that constitute the heart and soul of stage 6. One cannot jump across or dispense with stage 6.... Without an intimate and sheltered harbour at stage 6, a [revitalization] movement faces the danger of prematurely tilting at dragons (the schools, the media, the economy) rather than squarely addressing the immediate locus of the intergenerational transmission of [language]. (p. 95)*

Based on the work of Fishman (1991), Fettes (1992) established five broad goals that can be used to guide and shape language revitalization efforts in Aboriginal communities. These goals reflect the range of choices that language communities have once they decide to do something about their particular language, and have been used by the Cree (Crosscurrent Associates, 1999a), Chipewyan (Akaitcho Territory Government, 2000), and North Slavey (Crosscurrent Associates, 2000) language communities in the NWT for planning purposes. These five goals are as follows:

- Preservation is the primary goal when a language is severely endangered and primarily involves codification activities such as documenting oral histories of mother tongue speakers to capture a wide range of vocabulary and syntax, developing a writing system to preserve the language, and documenting traditional place names and other important terminology.
- Cultural Awareness is the goal when a language community does not have the commitment or resources to retain a language but wants to maintain an understanding of important cultural beliefs and practices. The traditional language is used at times during the teaching and practice of traditional cultural activities, but fluency in the language is not the goal.
- Revival is the goal when a language community wants to promote first language acquisition by reintroducing intergenerational language transmission in the home and reinforcing it in the community. This goal involves a wide range of community and school programming activities focusing on promoting and teaching the language.
- Reduced Bilingualism is the goal where a language is already enduring or flourishing and the language community wants to ensure that the language remains a strong working language. This goal involves increasing and consolidating use of the language in all community activities, including school activities, and establishing policies to control or limit the influence of a more dominant language.
- Full Bilingualism is the goal where a language is already strong and the language community wants its traditional language to be dominant within all community activities. This goal normally requires control over governance systems, media, and the education system, and requires language policies that favour the traditional language (Fettes, 1992, pp. 9-11).

These five goal statements overlap and reflect broad priorities for action based on a realistic assessment of commitment within a given language community. Fettes (1992) stresses the fundamental need for community control in Aboriginal language revitalization:

> *Indeed, throughout this paper can be found a recurrent emphasis on the need for community control of language programs. Such control is only possible under a working system of self-government which receives adequate recognition and support at both the provincial and federal levels. This paper assumes that progress toward such a system can and is being made. (p. 1)*

Building on the work of many other language specialists, Crystal (2000) identifies three essential elements for language revitalization:

> *For real progress in an endangered language, it is clear that several elements need to be in place. There needs to be an indigenous community interested in obtaining help, and with a positive attitude toward language rescue. There*

> *needs to be a positive political climate, committed to the preservation of ethnic identity and cultural rights, prepared to put some money where its principles are, and where the political implications of language maintenance have been thought through. And there needs to be professionals available to help with the task of language selection, recording, analysis, and teaching. (p. 102)*

Once these three key elements are in place, Crystal identifies six main factors that contribute to successful language revitalization.

1. "An endangered language will progress if its speakers increase their prestige within the dominant community" (p. 130). This means that the visibility and profile of the language must be positively raised through the media, signage, day-to-day usage, and integration into all aspects of community life, including business and public administration.
2. "An endangered language will progress if its speakers increase their wealth relative to the dominant community" (p. 132). This factor acknowledges that it costs money to implement language revitalization activities and recognizes that language loss tends to occur more frequently where a language community is economically and politically dominated or marginalized. This factor applies where "the increase in prosperity is gradual, and is well-managed" (p. 132) but recognizes that sudden development and wealth can have a negative impact on indigenous cultures.
3. "An endangered language will progress if its speakers increase their legitimate power in the eyes of the dominant community" (p.133). International and national protocols, declarations, and legislation legitimize and foster support for minority or endangered languages; affirm both cultural and linguistic rights within a society; and generally establish a base for language funding, programs, and services.
4. "An endangered language will progress if its speakers have a strong presence in the educational system" (p. 136). Crystal provides a compelling elaboration:

   > *To promote a presence in the home is the priority, with any endangered language ... it is no solution to develop a mindset which sees all the responsibility transferred to the school system. But if there is no presence in the school system at all, at the primary and secondary levels, the future is likewise bleak.... The school setting provides an increasingly widening range of opportunities for children to listen and speak.... It gives them the opportunity to engage with literacy ... which will open doors to new worlds. If their only experience of speech and writing in school is through the medium of the dominant language, it will not be surprising to find that the indigenous language fails to thrive. (p. 136)*

5. "An endangered language will progress if its speakers can write their language down" (p. 138). Documenting a language and increasing its use within contemporary media and communications systems increases its long-term chance for survival.

6. "An endangered language will progress if its speakers can make use of electronic technology" (p. 141). This factor acknowledges that information and media technology is becoming a dominant force in our society and that the language of that technology will also become dominant, as is currently happening with English throughout the world. Radio and television broadcasting, multi-media production, and Internet use can all accommodate indigenous languages, once a suitable orthography has been developed, which is the case for the official languages of the NWT. For example, the development of a Dene font system for Windows, using letters such as 'ę́', 'ł', and 'ʔ', opens up new possibilities for written Dene language communications.

"An endangered language will progress if its speakers can make use of electronic technology."

Crystal notes that other linguists have developed their own list of factors that help to maintain and support minority languages. Many of these factors overlap, but some of the additional factors include:

- Support from the dominant culture for linguistic diversity
- A strong sense of cultural identity
- The creation of bilingual/bicultural school programs
- The training of native speakers as teachers
- The creation of indigenous language materials
- The existence of a 'critical mass' of speakers (i.e. a concentration of speakers within a geographic area that allows the language to be continually used and reinforced)
- The distribution of speakers across social networks (i.e. speakers in all areas of society — government, industry, school, professions, media, church, etc.) (p. 143-144).

Hinton (2001) intends her work "as a reference for individuals and communities who are interested or active in the revitalization of endangered languages" (p. 5). She modifies Fishman (1991), proposing a nine-step model for the practice of language revitalization. The model starts with community-based language assessment and planning, and progresses to Step 9 that would see the language community expanding and promoting its language beyond the local community to the region and the nation. The model's value is in its grassroots and practical bottom-up community development approach to language revitalization, which would complement or accelerate any supportive regional or national initiative. Inspiring to the language community activist or practitioner, she would add "*persistence, sustainability*, and *honesty with oneself*" (p. 17) to Crystal's (2000) list of factors relevant to successful revitalization efforts. "*Persistence* means not taking no for an answer…. *Sustainability* is setting up a program so that it can keep going…. [and] *Honesty* is crucial, because we want so badly for our effort to succeed that it is not always easy to stand back and see if what we are doing is really working" (Hinton, p. 17).

Each of the theoretical models, frameworks, and typologies for language revitalization appear to have value to the NWT. The next section of this chapter explores the application of language theories and approaches, internationally and nationally, in order to learn from their successes and setbacks.

International Language Revitalization Efforts

Revitalization of indigenous and minority languages has been an important issue in many countries over the past few decades. Language revitalization practices have either been based on language revitalization theories or have laid the groundwork for the development and testing of these theories. The NWT can learn a great deal from the experiences of those language communities that are trying to overcome a long history of assimilation policies within their traditional homelands and the approaches taken in the following language communities appear to have the most relevance to the NWT. Unless noted otherwise, the information in this section is based on materials compiled for the Special Committee (Balanoff, 2001).

The Maori Language (New Zealand)

Background

Maori is the indigenous and national language of New Zealand, which became a British colony in the early 1800s. The Maori language was originally protected under the Treaty of Waitangi (1840) between the Maori and the British (Armitage, 1995). For a period following the Treaty, all government proceedings were recorded in Maori and English and schooling was done in Maori. However conflicts between the British settlers and the Maori people intensified in the mid-1800s, primarily over land rights, and culminated in the *Pakeha* Wars, in which the Maori people were defeated (p. 142). One result of this conflict was the establishment of the *Native School Act* (1867) which provided for the establishment of schools in each Maori community but also, in 1871, permitted instruction in English only (Armitage, 1995, p. 143). Significantly, by the end of the 1800s, the Maori population had declined from approximately 100,000 to 42,000. A broad government policy of assimilation and integration continued through to the mid-1970s although Maori people actively resisted cultural assimilation and continued to negotiate and assert their rights within New Zealand society (pp. 143-144). A Maori cultural resurgence began in the 1970s, based on the Treaty of Waitangi, and has resulted in a restructuring of the relationship between the Maori and the *Pakeha* peoples, although many *Pakeha* still reject the notion of special status or rights for the Maori (p. 149).

Current Status and Revitalization Activities

Enacted in 1987, the *Maori Language Act* declared Maori an official language of New Zealand. This Act allows the use of Maori in certain court proceedings and established a Maori Language Commission, with the authority to promote the languages among all New Zealanders, develop and implement language policy, carry out language research, and monitor the use of Maori within government. The *New Zealand Education Act* (1989) also supports the use of Maori through the following provisions:

- An education board must take all reasonable steps to identify and consider the views and concerns of Maori communities living in the geographical area the school serves
- Education policies and practices must reflect the unique position of Maori culture
- Boards must take all reasonable steps to ensure instruction in Maori culture and Maori language are provided for students whose parents ask for it.

The movement for the revitalization of the Maori language began in the early 1980s. The first *Te Kohanga Reo*, or language nests, were set up in 1982. These schools offer an all-Maori language and culture environment for children from birth to school age, aimed at fostering complete development and growth within a context where only the Maori language is spoken and heard (Corson, 1990, as cited in Baker & Prys Jones, 1998, p. 280). At the present time, approximately 40% of Maori pre-school children are in language nests and another 47% are taking some form of Maori language instruction in pre-school programs. However, with an increase in the number of language nests, less fluent Maori speakers are being recruited as staff, and there is some concern over the quality of the programs (Fishman, 2000). The language nests are supported through the Charitable Education Trust Fund, which, for the first few years, was primarily funded by the Maori language community. A full 90% of the staff at the early language nests were volunteers. But the New Zealand government is now funding the nests to a greater extent (with community and business support) as an early childhood development service.

The pre-school language nests began quite successfully, but minimal language instruction followed once the children entered school. At present, approximately 36% of Maori children take some form of language instruction at school, with the majority of the programming being bilingual rather than immersion. Very few Maori are attending secondary schools with Maori instructors and informal home and community use of the language is only 10% and falling (Fishman, 2000, pp. 13-14).

The New Zealand government has set the goal that 40% of New Zealanders will speak Maori by the year 2030. Aside from the language nests and bilingual school programming, other significant Maori language initiatives include:

- Extensive use of electronic media such as television and radio programming
- A buddy-system, where young people are teamed up with a fluent Maori speaker

- Post-secondary language and cultural programs
- Maori immersion retreats for families
- Language classes for young mothers
- Modernizing the language in order to appeal to young speakers.

Despite its noble public policy goal and initiatives, the number of Maori speakers continues to decline. Currently, Maori make up approximately 10% of the population of New Zealand. Although 59% of Maori speak their language, only 14% use Maori as their home language, and only 8% are considered highly fluent (mostly elders). A few key reasons have been cited for this decline:

- "New Zealanders probably have less respect for culture and tradition than almost any other nation … most of the electorate have no use for Maori" (Pawley, quoted in Karetu, 1994, p. 209)
- "We have compromised far too long…. There needs to be total commitment on the part of Maori speakers…. The Maori population more than any other needs to commit itself to the proposition that the language deserves to be retained, maintained, and sustained" (Karetu, 1994, p. 213)
- "Language policies are not likely to succeed because [the government] has failed to promote Maori among Maori and non-Maori to the extent that the language has a sufficiently good image" (Nicholson, 1997, p.206).

The Hawaiian Language (United States of America)

Background

The Hawaiian people call themselves *keiki o ka 'aina* or 'children of the land' and have the belief that "nature feeds man and man watches over nature in return" (Harden, 1999, p. 13). Up until 1777, the Hawaiian people had a well-developed agricultural society, cultivating over 200 varieties of sweet potato and taro (a root vegetable) using an engineered irrigation system. In the century following the arrival of Captain James Cook in 1778, "Western ideas, Calvinist doctrine and introduced diseases nearly extinguished Hawaiian culture and its people" (p. 9). During the 1800s, missionaries developed a Hawaiian writing system and, with the support of the Hawaiian monarchy, managed to teach literacy skills. But the Hawaiian monarchy was overthrown in 1895 and Hawaii was annexed by the United States government in 1898. By the early 1900s, English-only education legislation had been introduced and it was estimated that only 4.5% of native Hawaiians spoke their language. Assimilative policies toward the Hawaiian people continued through most of the twentieth century.

In the 1970s, in parallel with the national movement for Hawaiian rights, a Hawaiian cultural renaissance began that " … came so quickly and with such a force of emotion. People began taking *hula* lessons [an ancient and sacred dance], learning to chant, insisting the Hawaiian history be taught in school, speaking the language, reviving the ancient crafts" (p. 10).

CAMILLA TUTCHO

Camilla Tutcho from Déline at the Second Territorial Languages Assembly, Hay River (K'átł'odeeche) Dene Reserve, October 2002.

This revival of culture and language led to constitutional amendments and legislation that established Hawaiian and English as official languages of Hawaii in 1978. But it was not until 1986 that legislation was passed to allow the use of Hawaiian in the public school system.

Current Status and Revitalization Initiatives

Approximately 20% of the population of Hawaii is native Hawaiian. In 1990, only 4% of Hawaiians could speak their language and these speakers were elderly and scattered among the many islands of Hawaii (Balanoff, 2001).

Since the mid-1980s, the focus for revitalization has been on Hawaiian language schooling, with state and community support, beginning with pre-school programming and continuing through the K to 12 public school system. Two immersion pre-schools were established in 1985; by 1996 this number had increased to six. Two independent Hawaiian language schools and several K-12 immersion programs have been established in Hawaii. The immersion programs share space with English-language schools and visitors to these programs must use Hawaiian or Hawaiian interpreters. Parental involvement in pre-school and kindergarten immersion programs is mandatory. A non-profit organization of educators has been established to promote and support expansion of Hawaiian language schooling. Hinton (2001) attests to the value of full-immersion programs:

> *No other system of language revitalization has such complete access to so many members of the younger generation (who are the best language learners) for so many hours per day. More and more programs worldwide have immersion pre-schools that teach children to communicate in the endangered language, and for a number of programs it has been possible to develop an immersion schooling system all the way through high school and even into college. Hawaiian and Maori are two languages … that have developed a whole generation of new speakers through this type of program. (p. 8)*

Importantly, the Hawaiian language has been studied and taught at the University of Hawaii since 1921. It is now offered at all community colleges as well, and graduate courses are available. The University of Hawaii produces curriculum materials for schools, produces a Hawaiian newspaper, delivers Hawaiian computer courses, and has a lexicon committee to address ongoing terminology issues. Serious language revitalization efforts in Hawaii have only been happening over the past decade, so it is unclear at this point how successful they have been.

The Navajo, also called the Diné, are distant relatives of the Dene people of the NWT, and elders from both areas are able to carry on basic conversations.

The Navajo Language (United States of America)

Background

The Navajo, also called the Diné, are distant relatives of the Dene people of the NWT, and elders from both areas are able to carry on basic conversations. In fact, the Navajo have historically referred to the northern Dene as *Dene nahodloni* meaning they who are also Navajo (Abel, 1993, p. 12). Based on language differences, a split is believed to have taken place sometime between 500 and 800 AD and may have been caused by a major volcanic eruption (p. 9). This theory is supported by archeological evidence along with a number of northern Dene legends (pp. 10-11).

There is another traditional Dene legend that a group of people was crossing a very large northern lake when the ice split and the group became separated from one another. They had to go in different directions (south and north) and never re-established contact. Dene believe that the people that went south are the ancestors of the Sarcee peoples in Alberta (p. 12).

The Navajo were victims of the 'Indian Wars' that took place in the United States in the mid-1800s, the Navajo treaty was signed in 1878, and the Navajo reservation was established in 1878. The Navajo reservation is the largest of any Native American tribe in the United States and consists of 25,000 square miles that span three US states: Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah. After being placed on reserve, the Navajos lived in relative isolation, carrying on a traditional agricultural lifestyle under the administration of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). The Navajo people remained relatively isolated and self-contained on their land base, which may have helped them to maintain strong elements of their culture and language.

> *As recently as a generation ago, nearly all Navajo people spoke Navajo. Navajo was the unmarked language of oral communications between Navajos at social gatherings, ceremonies, trading posts, chapter meetings, and work; in fields, canyons, and school hallways; on playgrounds and trips to town; and across the generations within nearly all family contexts. (Spolsky & Irvin, 1982 as cited in Lee & McLaughlin, 2001, p. 23)*

It is estimated that, in 1930, 71% of Navajo were unilingual Navajo speakers. In 1970, 95% of all Navajo children entering bilingual programs were still fluent speakers of their traditional language.

Current Status and Revitalization Initiatives

One of the more successful Aboriginal language initiatives in the United States has been the community-controlled Rock Point Community School, which established a bilingual education program in 1967. The Rock Point School is governed by a local school board, has maintained a policy of hiring and training local teachers, utilizes a bilingual curriculum with a balance between English and Navajo instruction, and is funded through base education funding. By 1988, 43% of Rock Point students were dominant Navajo speakers while 5% were dominant English speakers (Reyhner, 1990). The remainder were equally fluent in each language. Significantly, "In 1983, Rock Point students by eighth grade outperformed Navajo students in neighboring public schools, other Navajo speaking students throughout the reservation, and other Arizona Indian students in reading on the California Achievement Test" (p. 102).

Although the Rock Point School began in the 1960s, legislation supporting this type of schooling was not established until later. In 1985, the *Navajo Tribal Education Policies* were established and provided for instruction in the Navajo language for all grade levels. Navajo language rights in the U.S. were reinforced through the *Native American Languages Act* (1990, 1992) which grants Native Americans the right to use, practice, and develop their languages. The *Indian Self-determination and Assistance Act* (1990) provides for community control of Indian education and an *Executive Order from the Navajo Tribal Council* (1994) makes Navajo the language of instruction in Navajo pre-school programs.

Navajo schools now use three main types of language programming: bilingual, immersion, and Navajo as a required subject. The majority of instruction in bilingual and immersion programs up to grade three is in Navajo. Instruction in Navajo begins to decline through grades four to six, and by junior high school, the majority of instruction is in English, with ongoing Navajo language and cultural studies. Significantly however, a majority of Navajo children attend state schools off-reservation, which have implemented limited Navajo language programs. Aside from schooling, Navajo revitalization activities have included the maintenance of a Navajo orthography; production of dictionaries, learning materials, and other resource materials; radio broadcasting, on Navajo-owned stations; and television programming.

In spite of these initiatives, the use of Navajo among youth has been declining:

> *Weakening intergenerational transmission of the native language represents the biggest change to Navajo over the past ten years. Linkages between adults and youth in home, family, and community contexts through oral Navajo are increasingly diminishing ... studies indicate a trend toward the rapidly decreasing use of Navajo among young children. (Lee & McLaughlin, 2001, p. 30)*

Recent studies cite the main reasons for this shift:

- English has become the dominant language among peers
- Children spend more time off reservation where they are exposed to English
- Children often harbour shame about their language and culture
- Some Navajo-speaking parents prefer to speak English to their children
- A significant number of Navajo children are schooled primarily, or only, in English (pp. 31-32).

As well, the use of English is increasing in Navajo government, business, and the justice system; the media is English-dominant and is being impacted to a greater extent by remote technology; and there is more intermarriage with non-Navajo (pp. 28, 36). Given this increase in language shift, linguists have recently identified the need to intensify language activities among families and communities, with the intent of overcoming negative attitudes toward the language and increasing the functional use of Navajo within all aspects of individual, family, and community life.

The *Sámi* Language (Norway and Finland)

Background

The Sámi are northern Scandinavian's indigenous people and used to be referred to as Laplanders (Sami History, 2002). They have lived in the territory of *Sápmi*, or Samiland (which includes portions of Russia, Finland, Norway, and Sweden) for at least 10,000 years, pursuing a hunting and gathering lifestyle. When the wild reindeer began to decline in the

1500s, the Sámi began to herd semi-domesticated reindeer and took up fishing along the Scandinavian coasts. During this period, Russian and Scandinavian settlers began to colonize the northern territory and the state required taxes from the nomadic Sámi. As early as the 1600s, minerals were discovered in the Sámi territory, intensifying the process of colonization.

> *The relationship between the Norwegian State and the Sámi people is colonial in its origins. Exactly the same is true in the other Nordic states, and in Russia/the Soviet Union. Sámi land was absorbed and divided up by the Nordic states and Russia in a historical process which began with trading, plunder, and missionary expeditions. The borders were drawn up in 1751 and 1826, after which the states installed themselves as private owners of all land and water. The Norwegian state launched a systematic war against Sámi culture and language for 100 years, while the other states denied the existence of the Sámi as a people. (Magga, 1994, p. 220)*

Following the Second World War, Norway repealed its discriminatory laws against the Sámi. The Sámi language was introduced into Norwegian primary schools in 1967. In Finland, the Sámi gained official recognition in 1973 through the election of a Sámi Assembly and in 1989 the Sámi achieved similar recognition in Norway with the opening of the Sámi parliament.

Current Status and Revitalization Initiatives

The Sámi consist of three major regional groups and these major groups consist of ten smaller cultural and language communities, each with their own distinct characteristics. Out of a current Sámi population of 40,000 in Norway, there are approximately 25,000 speakers; out of 7,000 Sámi in Finland, approximately 2,500 are speakers. There are smaller pockets of speakers in Sweden and Russia (Balanoff, 2001).

Since the 1970s, a number of laws have been passed or amended in both Norway and Finland to protect and support Sámi language and culture. In Finland, these consist of:

- The *Sámi Parliament Act* (1995) which guarantees autonomy over culture and language within the Sámi homeland
- The *Sámi Language Act* (1991) which guarantees Sámi language services within their homeland
- The *Act on Comprehensive Education* (1999) which entitles Sámi to receive first language instruction within their homeland.

In Norway, legislation consists of the following:

- A Constitutional Amendment to establish the Sámi Parliament
- The *Sámi Language Act* (1990) which establishes official languages status along with a Sámi Language Council
- The *Primary and Secondary Education Act*, (1998) which provides for Sámi language schooling for all Sámi people in Norway.

In the Sámi area of Norway, everyone has the right to be taught in Sámi; outside the region three or more parents whose mother tongue is Sámi can demand Sámi first language instruction for their children. Sámi is taught in secondary schools and is also offered at two Norwegian universities. In the Sámi area of Finland, Sámi first language instruction is available for grades 1 through 9. The Finnish government provides the funding for Sámi language schooling. The Sámi Language Council in Norway has a research, information, promotion, and monitoring role.

Sámi language revitalization appears to be based to a great extent on language legislation that provides for Sámi language services and schooling within their traditional territory. Rights were established, but the challenges of language revitalization remain:

> *The problem today is not so much to fight for rights but how to practically implement the Sámi Language Law ... little work on language cultivation and terminology has been done, and few people are good at written Sámi. The education system has had too little time and too few resources to have been able to equip us to meet the many challenges we are confronted with. (Magga, 1994, p. 230)*

The Welsh Language (Wales, United Kingdom)

Background

Welsh is a Celtic language, its nearest cousins being Cornish and Breton. Its origins stem from the Celtic invasions of the British Isles that took place in approximately 600 B.C. The language spoken today descended directly from Early Welsh, which emerged as a distinct tongue and established a writing system as early as the 500s A.D. Wales, as a distinct geopolitical area, did not begin to emerge until the mid-800s A.D. The area of Wales, since the arrival of the Celts, has withstood occupations and/or invasion by the Romans, the Irish, the Anglo-Saxons, the Norse, the Vikings, and the Normans. For many centuries, the Welsh had to pledge allegiance to the English monarch, and this attachment to England was formally established in the *Acts of Union* of 1536 and 1543, which enshrined English sovereignty over the country. This Act stated that only English-speaking people could hold office within government and the church. However, the translation of the Bible into Welsh in 1588 ensured that Welsh remained the language of local churches, home, and community. (Parker & Whitfield, 1997, p. 471)

In the early part of the 1800s, an estimated 90% of the population spoke Welsh. In the late 1800s, however, the English banned Welsh from the schools. Children caught speaking Welsh had to wear a 'Welsh Not' sign that could only be passed on to another child who was caught speaking Welsh. The child wearing the sign at the end of the day was soundly beaten. By 1901, the number of people speaking Welsh had dropped to 50%. The number of speakers declined throughout the 1900s and, by 1981, had dropped to 19% of the population. (p. 472)

The Welsh have actively organized and lobbied to maintain their language and heritage. *Plaid Cymru*, the Welsh National Party was formed in 1925 around the issue of language.

Dogrib elder James Rabesca and Michif Elder Fred Mandeville at the Second Territorial Languages Assembly, Hay River (K'átl'odeeche) Dene Reserve, October 2002.

In 1963, *Cymdeithas yr laith Gymraeg*, the Welsh Language Society was formed and, in its early years, painted Welsh translations over English language road signs. Ongoing lobby efforts resulted in the 1967 *Welsh Language Act*, which provided for the use of Welsh in government and allowed for the establishment of Welsh language schools, most of which offered bilingual programs (p. 472). By 1990, the decline in Welsh language use had been halted, and modest increases in language use appeared in Census statistics. The *Welsh Language Act* of 1993 confirmed in law the principle of equality between the Welsh and English languages, and also established *Bwrdd yr liath Gymraeg*, the Welsh Language Board.

Current Status and Revitalization Initiatives

> *Most of the significant developments that have played a part in reversing the language's fortunes have happened in the last 30 years. The increase in the number of young people who can speak Welsh is mainly because of the development of Welsh-medium education and increased teaching of Welsh in schools. Parental pressure has played a large part in achieving this.*
> *(Welsh Language Board, 2002)*

The number of young people able to speak Welsh began to increase through the 1970s and 1980s, when Welsh-medium schools (schools that teach the curriculum in Welsh) first began to flourish. Further increases are expected to show on the 2001 Wales Census. The main factors that appear to have contributed to a gradual increase in the use of Welsh include:

- Strong and vigorous campaigns for the rights of Welsh language speakers
- Strong parental pressure for Welsh language programming in schools
- Commitment to ensuring that Welsh evolves as a living language to increase its appeal to young people
- Broad and widespread support for the language among the Welsh people
- Political consensus for a system of bilingual education
- Active targeting of youth and young parents.

There are currently over 1000 groups that deliver Welsh language pre-school programs. In the schools, Welsh is compulsory for all children (including English-speaking children) up to age 14, either as a first or second language. Although most schooling is bilingual, over 25% of children attend Welsh-medium schools, which means they take English as a second language. Three post-secondary institutions offer Welsh-medium instruction and all others have Welsh as a subject. Leaflets that promote the use of Welsh in the home and the advantages of bilingualism are delivered to all new mothers. Demand for Welsh classes for adults is rapidly increasing.

Since the early 1980s, a wide variety of Welsh-language media and institutions have also been developed, including:

- A national television channel that now broadcasts 30 hours a week
- A national Welsh-only radio station as well as many local bilingual radio stations
- Weekly newspapers and monthly magazines
- Books, cassettes, CDs, and children's videos
- A Welsh language entertainment industry that includes pop, folk, and classical music
- A Welsh Books Council.

A more recent development has been the establishment of the Welsh Language Board in 1993, which has the authority to:

- Promote and facilitate the use of Welsh in government and other public institutions
- Distribute grants for language initiatives
- Research and monitor the state of the Welsh language.

In 1998, the United Kingdom Government passed the Government of Wales Act, which allows for the establishment of a Welsh parliament. This increase in Welsh autonomy is expected to strengthen the ability of the Welsh to reverse language shift within their country and continue to pursue an official policy of bilingualism for its citizens.

Language Revitalization in Canada

Aboriginal Language Revitalization Issues

The Special Committee has reviewed the following works on Aboriginal language issues in Canada and summarized their main findings. These studies directly address theories and approaches associated with the assessment, planning, and revitalization of indigenous languages in Canada:

- *You Took My Talk: Aboriginal Literacy and Empowerment* (Government of Canada, 1990)
- *Toward Linguistic Justice for First Nations* (Assembly of First Nations, 1990)
- *Toward A Rebirth of First Nations Languages* (Assembly of First Nations, 1991)
- *Taking Back the Talk: A Specialized Review on Aboriginal Languages and Literacy* (Norton & Fettes, 1994)
- *Perspectives on Aboriginal Language Conservation and Revitalization in Canada* (Drapeau, 1995)
- *The Role, Development and Future of Aboriginal Communications* (Valaskakis, 1995)
- *A Time to Listen and The Time to Act: National First Nations Languages Strategy* (Assembly of First Nations, 2001).

You Took My Talk: Aboriginal Literacy and Empowerment

This Government of Canada (1990) report by the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs focused primarily on Aboriginal language literacy but acknowledged that the overall "status of aboriginal languages is intimately connected to literacy issues" (p. 5). The report concluded that "Aboriginal languages are irreplaceable cultural resources that require protection and support" (p. iv) and that "Commitment and partnership at all levels of government combined with community leadership are essential to the achievement of literacy in aboriginal languages and official languages" (p. iv).

The report's recommendations stressed the need for the following general types of actions to support and enhance Aboriginal language literacy:

- Promotion, nationally and provincially, of the value of mother tongue literacy, using public, private, and volunteer partners
- Establishment of an Aboriginal languages institution or foundation to promote the languages
- Establishment of a National Task Force on Aboriginal Education to address Aboriginal content in the curriculum, the status of Aboriginal language instruction, and accreditation of Aboriginal language courses, among other things
- Involvement of Aboriginal representatives in decision-making processes, including the establishment of an Aboriginal languages strategy board to manage federal language and literacy funding

- Utilization of a one-window funding mechanism for program delivery
- Provision of long-term funding
- Community-based and community-controlled programming.

Toward Linguistic Justice for First Nations

This Assembly of First Nations (1990) study involved the development, distribution, and analysis of language surveys among all First Nations in Canada. Of a total of 593 surveys sent out, 152 were completed. This study provided valuable, but anecdotal, information about the status of Aboriginal languages and Aboriginal language programs, along with information about language needs and aspirations. The report's recommendations proposed a national strategic framework for the revitalization and enhancement of Aboriginal languages across Canada, with the following main elements:

1. First Nations' language and culture must have equal recognition, protection, and promotion in the Canadian constitution and other legislation.
2. Language must become an integral part of First Nations governments through:
    - By-laws to promote and regulate language use in administration, education and community
    - Creation of community-level First Nations Language Commissions/Councils that would:
        - ✓ Establish policies for language use;
        - ✓ Standardize and publish language terminology, dictionaries, and orthographies
        - ✓ Advise First Nations governments on language issues and programs
        - ✓ Promote and protect the languages
        - ✓ Promote employee language training
        - ✓ Promote day-care and pre-school language instruction.
3. First Nations children must receive language instruction through resource allocation and First Nations involvement in:
    - Planning of K-12 school programs
    - Program design
    - Preparation of materials and curriculum guides
    - Community-based in-service training for language instructors and facilitators.
4. A National Aboriginal Languages Foundation should be established
5. There must be planning to identify mechanisms at the regional and national levels that will facilitate sharing of resources and expertise among communities.

Toward a Rebirth of First Nations Languages

This Assembly of First Nations (1991) study surveyed First Nations language/cultural educators and administrators and also reviewed international research studies relating to language revitalization. Its major findings and strategic recommendations are as follows.

Findings

- Responsibility for Aboriginal language maintenance has often been relegated to education departments which have other priorities
- Few of these departments have the resources required to undertake school/community bridging or community education
- Education and community programs are piecemeal — often having short-term funding, insufficient resources, and a shortage of trained language specialists
- Language workers feel isolated and frustrated from a lack of support at all levels
- There is a lack of community spirit and involvement around language issues
- There is significant diversity of conditions amongst the First Nations language communities.

Strategic Recommendations

Language must be reintegrated back into community and family life as an integral part of the healing process. Fundamental to this process is pride in culture and community identity. Efforts to revitalize the language therefore must begin with reversing these attitudes and making community members aware of the importance and utility of language and traditional values. Awareness building should also correct the mistaken perception that learning the Aboriginal language negatively affects children's learning.

Language planning must involve elders and teachers and identify specific language objectives for each age group.

Despite differences among languages, a common goal should be to ensure the natural transmission of language, knowledge, and traditions from one generation to the next. Strategies should focus on strengthening family and community ties and encouraging language development and retention within these groups through family-based language and culture programs.

Taking Back the Talk: A Specialized Review on Aboriginal Languages and Literacy

Prepared for the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (1996), this 1994 research report addressed the role of both government and community in addressing Aboriginal language and literacy issues. It concluded that:

- The federal and provincial governments should have clear language policies that respond to community needs; should ensure stable, long-term funding for languages; and should incorporate Aboriginal input in all language decisions in a systematic way
- Aboriginal governments should have language policies and place more emphasis on the importance of language use and development

- Community support is essential for successful language programming — communities must have greater responsibility for program design and implementation.

Perspectives on Aboriginal Language Conservation and Revitalization in Canada

Also prepared for the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, this comprehensive 1995 research report incorporated a detailed review of international language theory and practice. The report made observations and conclusions regarding the strategic roles of government, language communities, and individual communities with respect to language revitalization matters. The Executive Summary of the report stated, in clear terms, the challenge facing Aboriginal languages:

> *Indeed, while modern day democratic Western societies in most cases no longer adopt strong assimilationist policies ... the process of shift to the majority language and the ensuing death of minority languages continue unabated. In other words, good intentions on the part of the majority group ... do not guarantee that the minority language will hold its own.... Indeed what we are dealing with is not some sociopolitical or cultural problem that can be both isolated and solved once and for all, but rather a far-reaching undertow that, eventually, will profoundly stir and shake all languages occupying a precarious position in the global village. (Drapeau, 1995, p. 72438)*

This report discussed the difference between the 'communicative' and 'symbolic' functions of language, based on the works of Edwards (as cited in Drapeau, 1995). From this perspective, language is both a tool for communication and an emblem of group or cultural identity and "communicative language shift may occur prior to symbolic language shift; in other words, a minority group may shift to the dominant language and abandon its own language for the purpose of communication and yet retain an attachment to it as a symbol of its identity" (Drapeau, 1995). In other words, we may value a language as a strong component of our cultural identity, but not actually use the language for daily communication. Given this tendency, Drapeau is not optimistic about the future of Aboriginal languages that have become obsolete or extinct:

> *In the light of the previous discussion on the communicative and symbolic dimensions of language, it appears that the revival of extinct Aboriginal languages would serve symbolic rather than communicative purposes. Indeed, restoring these languages as tools of communication is not, in our view, a realistically attainable goal. (Drapeau, 1995, p. 72477)*

The report, however, does provide a clear goal for those communities who are committed to reversing language shift and restoring functional use of their ancestral language within their community and/or region:

> *Each community must thus strive to maintain/increase the number of first language and second language speakers of the Aboriginal [language] at an adequate level of proficiency and who use the language in their daily functions. Policies aimed at conservation/revitalization of Aboriginal languages must have a demonstrable effect on the attainment of this goal. (Drapeau, 1995, p. 72519)*

The report adds that:

> *The only way of making absolutely sure that a language will survive is to restore complete cultural autonomy. In linguistic terms, cultural autonomy means that, for a given language, there can be maintained or recreated the existence of a sizable body of speakers who are monolingual in that language and who can go about their normal lives in the Aboriginal language without being exposed to or having to use the dominant language. One step down the scale of cultural autonomy would be to maintain/recreate geographical areas where people, while remaining bilingual, can go about their normal daily lives in the Aboriginal language with minimum exposure and necessity of use of the dominant language. The greater the exposure and necessity of use of the dominant language, the lesser the degree of cultural autonomy.*
> *(Drapeau, 1995, p. 72519)*

In order to achieve a reasonable degree of language preservation and revitalization, the report makes the following recommendations for government and community stakeholders.

1. Government
   - Federal and provincial governments should enact legislation supporting Aboriginal language rights, using Quebec, Yukon, and the Northwest Territories as models and should also make language funding available — this legislation should enshrine the right of Aboriginal people to use and promote their languages
   - This legislation should ensure that nothing prevents the use of the languages in education and as official languages in Aboriginal language communities
   - However, the report also noted that official language status may be unenforceable due to the complexity of their corpus planning prerequisites [i.e. due to lack of standardization, trained language specialists, interpreters, etc.].
2. Language Communities
   - Language communities, through appropriate governing bodies, must be a major player in all language policy-making decisions
   - Provincial boundaries should not prevent common, collective action within a particular language community

- Language communities must take responsibility for undertaking fundamental language research and developing materials that can be used by individual communities and agencies.

3. Individual Communities/Aboriginal Organizations

   Community-based language initiatives should primarily focus on:

   - Raising consciousness and community mobilization
   - Encouraging and supporting parents and extended families to speak their language to their infants and children
   - Organizing special community projects such as language nests, summer camps, and language retreats
   - Ensuring that the language is spoken as much as possible in public places in the community — band council meetings, churches, community events, etc.
   - Ensuring that formal education is available in the Aboriginal languages — for children and adults and as first and second language programs (based on sound decisions on the type of language instruction that is most appropriate to the specific population)
   - Monitoring and evaluating the effectiveness of programs and progress being made.

The Role, Development and Future of Aboriginal Communications

The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples commissioned this 1995 study on the role and meaning of communications in the maintenance of Aboriginal culture, identity, and community. This study concluded that:

> *Communication is more than the 'cultural glue' that holds us all together. We actually construct who we are in the process of identifying with the images and cultural narratives that dominate our ways of seeing and representing the world. Within this context, Aboriginal media and Native perspectives in mainstream media are central factors in the formation of culture, identity and community, both Aboriginal and Canadian. (Valaskakis, 1995, p. 72654)*

The report made a number of recommendations relating to Aboriginal communications — in the general areas of policy and legislation, funding, and access — that can be summarized as follows:

1. Policy and Legislation

   - The Canadian government must recognize the special status of Aboriginal language broadcasting in the Broadcasting Act. This requires amending Article 3 (ii) of Bill C40 to read "programming that reflects Aboriginal cultures and languages of Canada should be provided within the Canadian broadcasting system as resources become available for that purpose."

2. Funding

   - Core funding for Aboriginal broadcasting and newspapers in the south as well as the north must be provided through co-operative or legislated initiatives of federal, territorial, provincial, and Aboriginal governments, and through commercial broadcasters. Funding must be accessible to all Aboriginal communities.
   - Core funding agreements must be long-term; must be based on realistic reflections of Aboriginal media requirements in each region; must be administered on a co-management basis; and must respond to the aim of facilitating the financial independence of media undertakings.
   - Aboriginal governments must recognize the central role of Aboriginal media — through dedicated funding, freedom of expression, and access to information — when formulating the agendas for self-government negotiations and the constitutions of local and regional and Aboriginal governments.

3. Access

   - The federal government must assess the community radio requirements of unserved Aboriginal communities, and the technological needs of Aboriginal radio broadcasters operating in the northern parts of the provinces, and develop a plan to provide the infrastructure they need for extended access to Aboriginal communities and for increased self-sufficiency.
   - Training must be available for Aboriginal people through college and university programs, public media institutions, exchange programs, and apprenticeships.

A Time to Listen and The Time to Act: National First Nations Languages Strategy

The Assembly of First Nations (2000) recently developed a comprehensive national strategic language plan in order to "provide the First Nations of Canada with a framework with which to address their language revival endeavors at the community level" (p. 1). The plan incorporates eight main strategic initiatives:

1. Establish a National First Nations Languages Foundation to provide language funding to First Nations communities and act as a clearinghouse with respect to Aboriginal language materials and studies.
2. Develop and propose a federal First Nations Languages Act to protect and promote Aboriginal languages, as well as encourage provincial legislation.
3. Encourage and support local policy initiatives by First Nations in support of Aboriginal languages and culture.

4. Establish a National Languages Clearinghouse to gather, store, and share information relevant to First Nations Languages and Literacy including curricula, learning materials and resources, textbooks, dictionaries, and media resources.
5. Encourage partnerships with organizations interested in supporting First Nations education, language and culture. These partnerships would involve governments, industry, and financial institutions.
6. Encourage and support the use of Aboriginal languages in homes and communities.
7. Support language revitalization projects initiated and controlled at the community level.
8. Access funding for the development and promotion of First Nations language assessment tools and procedures that are consistent with cultural values.

French Language Revitalization Issues

Efforts to revitalize the French language in Canada over the past forty years appear to have been successful in Quebec, and Quebec is now viewed as an example of successful language revitalization practice. "French Quebec has emerged as a symbolic case for the 'Xish' minorities of the world, for it shows that sustained language planning can reverse language shift even relative to the most powerful language of this millenium: English". (Bourhis, 2001, p. 101)

According to Bourhis, in the early 1960s,

> *More than 80% of the Quebec population spoke French as a mother tongue, of whom more than three-quarters were* unilingual *French and used* only *French as their home language … the English mother tongue population (Anglophones) made up less than 15% of the overall provincial population (p. 105).*

However, francophones had a declining birthrate, the majority of immigrants were sending their children to English schools, francophones were underrepresented within federal institutions, and "English, not French, was the language of business and upward mobility in Quebec" (pp. 105-108).

Quebec's main approach to language preservation and revitalization was to work toward the establishment and definition of French language rights in both federal and provincial languages legislation. Along with Canada's *Official Languages Act* (1969) which provided for French language rights within the federal government and provincial legislation which further specified these rights, this legislation included:

- The federal *Consumer Packaging and Labelling Act* (1970), which established francophone consumer rights (Barbaud, 1998, p. 184)
- The *Charter of French Language or Bill 101* (1977) replaced Bill 22 and included comprehensive measures for the protection and promotion of the French language and prescribed the language of education, public communication, and work (p. 185)

- The *Constitution Act* (1982), including the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, provided a constitutional protection to rights granted through the *Official Languages Act* and included provisions to protect and promote minority language education rights.

Although there are still considerable pressures on the French language due to the growing global dominance of English, French remains the predominant language in Quebec:

> *Twenty-four years later Bill 101 has enabled Quebec to make considerable progress in enhancing the status and attractiveness of the French language. Over 90% of young immigrants attend French-language schools. French is generally present in commerce and signs and its use is growing in businesses. Quebecers have acquired a form of security because French, the official common language, has become more a part of everyday life.*
> *(Commission des États généraux, 2001, p. 3)*

In New Brunswick, which is the only Canadian province that is officially bilingual, the French-speaking Acadian community remains "a distinct and active collectivity … capable of ensuring future dynamism and vitality" (Allard & Landry, 1998, p. 214) due to three main accomplishments:

- "Legal recognition of its right to be active on the provincial scene and to develop itself as a distinct and equal linguistic community…."
- "The development of institutional structures (community centres) which facilitate and promote the maintenance of permanent networks of contacts with the French language and culture among minority group members, in regions where the minority is weak and sparsely distributed…."
- "The Acadian community's relative autonomy in the control of educational institutions which are responsible for the transmission of its language and culture" (p. 215).

However, preservation and revitalization of the French language in the remainder of Canada has been less successful:

> *Francophone minorities tend to reside in areas where they can communicate in French with their neighbours, they exhibit a high level of French-language maintenance in their churches and, to some extent, they are able to find jobs where they can use French. We have also seen that they have won the right to French-medium schooling (both at the elementary and secondary levels) and that they increasingly support such schools. In the private domain of the home, however, French language retention is not high and French mother-tongue parents tend not to pass French on to their children. In fact, the generation of francophones currently placing their children in French-medium schools show high levels of shift to English. (Mougeon, 1998, p. 248)*

According to Mougeon, "If the growing support for French-medium schools is the expression of a real interest in the survival of francophone linguistic and cultural heritage, then the minorities need to go one step further, and attempt to reverse the process of English-language shift at home" (p. 248).

The situation of French in Canada provides a valuable perspective on language preservation and revitalization for all language groups and adds weight to current language revitalization theory. Language revitalization rooted in a rights-based approach within a geographic area with a relatively large, concentrated, and politically-strong speaker base appears to have greater chances for success. The successes in Wales would also support this observation. Language revitalization among a more widely-scattered minority population, even where language rights exist, appears to be more dependent on individual and family will and effort.

The situation of French in Canada provides a valuable perspective on language preservation and revitalization for all language groups and adds weight to current language revitalization theory.

Canadian Languages Legislation

Language revitalization theories speak to the importance of legislation as one means of reversing language shift, and each country and language jurisdiction that has made progress in reversing language shift has enacted some form of protective and supportive legislation. Language legislation is clearly an important element of language preservation and revitalization.

The importance of language legislation has been acknowledged in Canada through the *Official Languages Act* of Canada (1969, 1985), through the *Constitution Act* (1982), and through provincial and territorial legislation relating to both the Aboriginal and French languages, including the *Official Languages Act* of the NWT. In order to gain a better perspective on the comparative scope and impact of the *Official Languages Act* of the NWT (1990), the Special Committee prepared a brief summary of other Canadian languages legislation, including federal, provincial, and territorial legislation.

Federal Legislation

Constitution Act, 1982

The *Constitution Act* of 1982, which includes the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* (the *Charter*), both enshrines and defines the language rights of English and French speaking Canadians. In particular:

- Section 16 establishes French and English as the official languages of Canada, with " …equality of status, rights, and privileges as to their use in all institutions of the Parliament and government of Canada."
- Section 20 (1) enshrines the right of Canadians to receive services in either English or French from all head and central offices of the Government of Canada, and to receive services in either French or English from any office or institution of the Canadian government where there is significant demand or due to the nature of the service.
- Section 23 enshrines the right of French or English minorities in the provinces and territories, with some provisions and where numbers warrant, to be schooled in their mother tongue.

The *Constitution Act* also indirectly addresses Aboriginal language rights:

- Section 14 of the *Act* allows all individuals the use of an interpreter in court if they do not understand or speak the normal language of the proceedings.
- Section 22 states that neither Section 16 nor 20 takes away any legal or customary rights or privileges of languages other than English or French, where these rights and privileges existed before the *Charter*.
- Section 35 recognizes and affirms, but does not define, the "… existing aboriginal and treaty rights of the aboriginal peoples of Canada …", which may include language rights.

Official Languages Act (R.S. 1985, c. 31 (4th Supp.)

The *Official Languages Act* of Canada was enacted in 1969 and then amended in 1988 to reflect the new *Constitution Act* of Canada (subsequent, minor amendments have also been made). The 1988 *Official Languages Act* elaborates the linguistic rights and principles enshrined in the *Constitution Act*. It also provides a legislative base for policies that had been implemented already in many federal government institutions, including policies regarding the use of both official languages in the federal workplace and federal support for official language minority communities. The *Act* also outlines the role of the Treasury Board, Canadian Heritage, and the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages in implementing the *Act*. The *Act* gives the Commissioner of Official Languages the authority to take actions to ensure the recognition of the status of each of the official languages and compliance with the spirit and intent of the *Act*. Key provisions of the *Act* affecting the NWT are as follows:

- Section 2 reaffirms English and French as the official languages of Canada, ensures their equality of status within the federal government and federal institutions, and supports the development of English and French linguistic minority communities, which are defined in the regulations accompanying the *Act*.
- Section 3 defines the term 'federal institution' — this definition explicitly excludes " … any institution of the Council or government of the Northwest Territories or the Yukon

Government or of the Legislative Assembly or government of Nunavut …" and " … any Indian band, band council, or other body established to perform a governmental function in relation to an Indian band or other group of aboriginal people."

- Section 25 ensures that services provided by other persons or organizations on behalf of the federal government must comply with language provisions of the *Act*.
- Sections 41 and 42 commit the Government of Canada to enhance, foster, encourage, and support the equality of English and French throughout Canada and in all aspects of Canadian society.
- Section 83 (1) reaffirms that the *Act* does not take away customary rights of other languages in Canada, which include Aboriginal and immigrant languages.

Criminal Code (R.S. 1985, c. C-46)

- Section 530 (1) states that the person accused must be tried before a judge or jury that speaks the same official language, or the official language that he/she can best give testimony in. This section applies to federal courts — in most provincial courts, interpretation is provided.
- Section 638 (1) allows a prosecutor to challenge a juror who does not speak the official language of the accused.

Provincial and Territorial Legislation

Aboriginal Language Legislation

Quebec, Yukon, Nunavut, and British Columbia are the only jurisdictions in Canada, other than the NWT, that have legislation regarding Aboriginal languages.

- The *First Peoples' Heritage, Language and Culture Act of British Columbia* (1996) created a tribal advisory committee and a provincial council to advise the government on language and cultural matters, access funds, and distribute funds to Aboriginal cultural centres and programs.
- The Preamble of the *Charter of the French Language in Quebec* (1977) recognizes the rights of " … Amerinds and the Inuit of Quebec, the first inhabitants of this land, to preserve and develop their original language and culture." Section 88 of the Charter states that the language of instruction for schools under the jurisdiction of the Cree and Kativik School Boards shall be Cree and Inuktitut, respectively. Section 96 notes that the major Cree and Inuit organizations must utilize French in their administrative dealings with the Quebec government. Section 97 states that the *Charter* does not apply to Indian reserves.
- *Yukon's Languages Act, S.Y.* (1988) " … recognizes the significance of aboriginal languages in the Yukon and wishes to take appropriate measures to preserve, develop, and enhance these languages in the Yukon." As such, Yukon Aboriginal languages can be used in any of the debates or proceedings of the legislature, and the government may (but is not obligated to) provide services in any of the Aboriginal languages.

- Nunavut's *Official Languages Act* (1990) is identical to that of the NWT and is currently under review. Recommendations from an interim report suggest developing and implementing a government language policy; encouraging all Nunavut businesses and agencies to support the *Act*; and removing the Dene languages, Cree, and Inuvialuktun as official languages. Nunavut is also considering changes to its *Education Act* (1996) which is also identical to that of the NWT. At this point in writing, the changes being considered include:
  - ✓ Identifying education as a service under subsection 14(2) of the Nunavut *Official Languages Act*, thereby making a direct link between the *Education Act* and *Official Languages Act*
  - ✓ Instructing the Minister to 'make every reasonable effort' to ensure that adequate human and curriculum resources are in place to teach Inuktitut and Inuinnaqtun in the schools
  - ✓ Instructing District Education Authorities to ensure that schools reflect Inuit culture, languages, and values.

French Language Legislation

Figure 5.2 has been prepared to highlight the similarities and differences in provincial and territorial French language legislation and policies across Canada. It should be noted there are considerable discrepancies in the legislative framework for French language services among the provinces:

- New Brunswick is the only officially bilingual province
- British Columbia, Newfoundland and Labrador, and Nova Scotia do not have official languages legislation, although Nova Scotia does have a French language services policy
- Management and implementation approaches range from designated ministerial contact in B.C. (with no coordinating body), through committees, offices, secretariats, boards, and French language departments (P.E.I.). Only New Brunswick and Ontario extend their legislation through regulations (Reg in Figure 5.2).

Although not noted in Figure 5.2, access to French language services in the court system ranges from interpreter services to full French language court parties. Minority education rights are guaranteed through the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* and therefore apply equally in all provincial and territorial jurisdictions.

Figure 5.2. Provincial and Territorial French language legislation (Source: SCOL)

Province/Terr.	**Act**	**Reg**	**Policy**	**Management**
Alberta	*Languages Act 1988* (recognizes right to use French in Legislature & courts)			Francophone Secretariat, chaired by MLA/ liaison between govt. and francophone community
BC	None			Minister is contact between Francophone community & govt.
Manitoba	*Manitoba Act 1870* (recognizes official status of French in Legislature & courts)	•	French. Lang. Services Policy (Active Offer)	French Language Services Secretariat- attached to Finance (advice, facilitation, monitoring, compliance)
New Brunswick	An Act Recognizing the Equality of the Two Official Linguistic Communities in New Brunswick 1981 *Official Languages Act* 2002 (compliance of municipalities, Commissioner, authority of hospitals and health care facilities to determine language of daily operations, formal review after 10 years)	•	Official Languages Policy Official	Languages and Workplace Equity Branch of the Office of Human Resources (monitor policy & guidelines for Public Service) Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages (compliance and promotion)
Newfoundland and Labrador	None			Minister responsible for Francophone Affairs with Constitutional & Francophone Affairs Division
NWT	*Official Languages Act* 1990 (gives official status to English, French, and nine Aboriginal languages)		Official	Languages Policy Minister of ECE has overall responsibility under policy/ Languages Commissioner (investigates & responds to complaints)
Nova Scotia	None			Policy on Services in French (services on request only)
Nunavut	*Official Languages Act* 1990 (gives official status to English, French, and nine	Aboriginal languages)	Under review	Department of Culture, Language, Elders & Youth Languages Commissioner

Figure 5.2. Provincial and Territorial French language legislation (Source: SCOL)

Province/Terr.	Act	Reg	Policy	Management
Ontario	*French Language Services Act* 1990 (right to receive services in French in designated areas) Courts of Justice Act (1984)	•		Office of Francophone Affairs coordinates delivery of French services/ investigates and responds to complaints
PEI	*French Language Services Act* 1999 (right to receive services, and enhancement of the Acadian and Francophone communities)		French Services Policy	Minister responsible for Francophone Affairs (coordination, compliance) Francophone Affairs Division Acadian Communities Advisory Board
Quebec	*Charter of the French Language* 1977 (contains specific provisions related to the workplace, instruction, business and commerce and communications)			Commission de Protection de la langue française (compliance) Conseil de la langue française (advice)
Saskatchewan	*Language Act* 1988 (recognizes right to use French in Legislature & courts)			Office of French Language Coordination (liaison with Francophone community & depts., translation for govt. depts.)
Yukon	*Languages Act, s.y.* 1988 (right to use French and English in Legislature & courts/ right to services in designated offices)		French Language Policy	Bureau of French Language Services Advisory Committee on French Language Services (advice) Court (compliance)

Toward a Framework for Evaluating Language Revitalization Practices in the NWT

The Special Committee has used the information gained from its review and analysis of language revitalization initiatives as a basis for formulating a framework to evaluate language legislation, revitalization efforts, and service delivery in the Northwest Territories. Given that there are "no simple answers and, as of yet, no complete step by step procedure to follow that has been proven to save a dying language" (Fishman, 1991), the Special Committee has proposed the following comprehensive and blended framework for language assessment, planning, protection, and revitalization purposes. This framework identifies the key elements and characteristics of an effective language protection and revitalization strategy. It suggests that active measures must be taken to support our official languages in all of the following areas:

- Legislation and Policy
- Management
- Financing
- Service Delivery
- Human Resource Development
- Research and Development
- Education
- Promotion
- Media and Technology.

In subsequent chapters, the Special Committee has used this framework to assess the current situation of our official languages and recommend changes for improvement.

While presenting this framework, the Special Committee acknowledges that language revitalization initiatives are only effective to the extent that they promote and support increased functional (and fluent) use of the language within home, school, and the community at large. The overriding goal of language initiatives must be to support increased functional use of our official languages, particularly use that leads to multi-generational language transmission, which is essential to language revival.

The overriding goal of language initiatives must be to support increased functional use of our official languages, particularly use that leads to multi-generational language transmission, which is essential to language revival.

Legislation and Policy

It is clear that a language revitalization framework must include some form of language legislation and policies that supports the minority or threatened language while mitigating the dominance of another language or languages. The most effective legislation appears to have the following characteristics. Effective legislation:

- Recognizes and defines language rights, particularly the right of language communities to achieve some degree of language and cultural autonomy within their own homelands
- Has been consciously structured to achieve strong promotion of language rights by requiring government and other agencies to provide language programs and services
- Articulates as clearly as possible specific language rights; roles and responsibilities; accountability; and sanctions for rights violations

- Respects individual language choices within a language community (including the right to use the dominant language) without restricting the right of other members of the community to access programs and services in their indigenous language
- Establishes language rights within the education system
- Establishes some form of Language Board or Commission with the authority and duty to promote and monitor language revitalization efforts.

An effective legislative and policy framework also includes the establishment of laws and policies by individual language communities within their own social, economic, and cultural institutions. For example, First Nations governments can utilize self-government agreements to enshrine language and cultural rights within their institutions and territories.

Management

Effective management of language revitalization activities means ensuring that all status and corpus elements of the Language Planning Model (see Figure 5.1) are in place, as well as other sound management practices. Effective management:

- Ensures that management decisions are guided and accountable through legislation and policy
- Ensures that a comprehensive implementation plan is in place to guide all language initiatives
- Ensures that language communities are active decision-makers with respect to all language initiatives that affect them
- Utilizes partnerships to plan and deliver programs
- Incorporates an ongoing evaluation system to ensure both accountability and effectiveness. Evaluation systems must establish meaningful and consistent indicators of language use and fluency.
- Establishes and utilizes consistent statistical and sociolinguistic data and information gathering systems to determine and monitor the condition of a language and the ongoing impact of language revitalization initiatives
- Supports ongoing codification (documenting) and elaboration (modernization) of threatened languages.

Financing

Where historic policies of assimilation and suppression have resulted in the steep decline in the use of indigenous languages, the dominant culture and its institutions can play an active role in funding and supporting language revitalization initiatives. Financial support can be achieved in a number of ways:

- Base government funds can be utilized to ensure that the program and service needs of language communities, particularly within their homelands, are being adequately addressed — this is particularly important with respect to program and service delivery and education
- Special language funds can be established
- Government can partner with language communities and other agencies to establish language endowment funds to support community-based language initiatives
- Financial reporting systems can be established to balance the need for flexibility at the community level and public accountability for funding.

The settlement of Aboriginal land claims, negotiation of self-government agreements, and economic development within Aboriginal language communities should provide additional funding for local language initiatives.

Service Delivery

Language revitalization assumes that speakers of a language can receive a broad range of services in their indigenous language, particularly within their language territory. Effective service delivery:

- Actively offers services in the indigenous language
- Utilizes local service providers who are fluent and/or literate in the language
- Supports the use of interpreter/translators when fluent service providers are not available
- Provides services in the indigenous language when requested, even if the client is bilingual
- Works toward expanding the range of services offered in the language
- Provides language training to front-line workers as needed to enhance service delivery.

Human Resource Development

Language revitalization initiatives will be more effective when managed and delivered by skilled language professionals. Effective human resource development:

- Ensures that a graduated and certified system of full-time and part-time professional development training is in place — particularly for language instructors, interpreter/translators, and language specialists
- Ensures that training is based around meaningful employment and career opportunities in the languages field
- Provides language training to non-speakers who provide services to a language community
- Provides opportunities for speakers to increase their fluency and literacy skills.

Research and Development

It is considered essential to document, study, standardize, and modernize indigenous languages if they are to be revived. Effective research and development initiatives generally:

- Incorporate an authoritative body (board, committee, or university) and systematic approach to language standardization and modernization
- Utilize elders and other local language experts
- Acknowledge and respect dialect differences while maintaining a standardized orthography
- Produce and distribute dictionaries, terminology lists, texts, and other language resource materials for public use
- Document oral traditions in the indigenous languages
- Incorporate the use of traditional place names on maps and other documents.

Education

International and national language revitalization initiatives have clearly benefited from the introduction (or reintroduction) of minority languages into the education system. In many instances, the indigenous language had been formally banned from school use for many years, which had contributed significantly to the decline in the language and had led to the internalization of negative attitudes toward the language. Effective incorporation of the language into the education system:

- Is based on language education rights that remove restrictions to access within a language territory (i.e., provides access to indigenous language schooling for members of the indigenous language community)
- Requires all students (including students from other language groups) to take some form of indigenous language education

- Incorporates a continuum of programming from pre-school through secondary school that encompasses language fluency and literacy skills
- Develops adequate curricula and resource materials to support indigenous language education; and monitors and measures outcomes
- Trains, certifies, and supports indigenous language teachers
- Provides non-speaking teachers the opportunity to learn the language
- Utilizes a combination of first language, immersion, second-language, and bilingual educational curricula, with an emphasis on bilingual education (the indigenous language and the dominant language)
- Funds indigenous language programming from base education funds
- Provides and/or supports concurrent language training for parents
- Provides adult language and literacy instruction, including immersion opportunities
- Offers language courses at the post-secondary level.

Promotion

The emerging global economy and the dominating influence of the English language and Western culture on all age groups, particularly the youth, has made it challenging for many language communities to maintain positive attitudes about the inherent value and utility of their language. This challenge is currently being faced by the Maori and Navajo, who are recognized as having relatively successful language revitalization initiatives. Effective promotional and support activities, particularly among the young, are essential elements of language revitalization.

Although truly successful promotional strategies have not yet been determined, effective language promotion strategies appear to:

- Use social marketing techniques to overcome negative myths about bilingualism and to reverse negative attitudes toward the indigenous culture and language generally
- Promote the culture and the language among youth and provide positive cultural experiences at an early age, when belief and value systems are being formed
- Promote cross-cultural understanding and acceptance among the dominant language group so that negative attitudes and indifference are overcome
- Modernize the language so that it can be used in all contemporary situations
- Support non-speakers who are learning the language, rather than criticizing or teasing them
- Role model the use of the language in a variety of social situations
- Make the language more visible throughout communities, through signage, media, and other means.

Media and Technology

The media, particularly electronic media, has considerable influence on many indigenous language populations. In the north, radio, television, CDs, computer technology, and the Internet are growing in popularity and immersing even remote communities in the English language. Effective language revitalization initiatives have to make use of modern technology and the media to gain exposure for the language and ensure that the language is viewed and utilized from a contemporary perspective. Effective media and technology initiatives would generally:

- Provide government funding for radio and television production and transmission in the indigenous language
- Include media outlets owned and operated by the language community
- Assist in adapting and enhancing technology to incorporate the orthography of the language
- Support the development and distribution of newspapers, magazines, books and other print materials
- Support a variety of media and technology training for fluent members of the language community.

Using the Framework

The 'effective language' revitalization framework detailed above has been developed as a reference for the Special Committee to use in its review of the status and impact of the *Official Languages Act* of the Northwest Territories. Using this framework as a guide, the next three chapters of this report provide a description and analysis of official languages legislation and other initiatives in the NWT, a summary of the language revitalization options that must be considered, a statement of vision regarding our official languages, and specific recommendations for change.

CHAPTER 6

LANGUAGE NEEDS AND LANGUAGE RIGHTS: ARE THE PROVISIONS OF OFFICIAL LANGUAGES LEGISLATION BEING MET AND ARE THEY EFFECTIVE?

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to evaluate the provisions, operations, and implementation of the NWT's Official Languages legislation and policy. The chapter starts with an outline of the Special Committee's approach to evaluation, which is broadly based on the language revitalization framework proposed in Chapter 5 and complemented by guidance from the Treasury Board of Canada Secretariat (2001) publication. The chapter is then divided into three main parts:

- Part I: The Official Languages Legislative Framework
- Part II: Management of Official Languages Legislation and Policy
- Part III: Official Languages Programs and Services.

Each of these parts addresses specific elements of the effective language revitalization framework, beginning with brief descriptions of the current situation, followed by analysis and evaluation. Each part concludes with a brief summary including observations on options for improvement. Although this chapter focuses primarily on the role and responsibilities of the GNWT, the role and responsibilities of the language communities, the federal government, and other language stakeholders are also discussed where appropriate.

Evaluation Approach and Methodologies

Evaluation leads to findings and recommendations that contribute to decision-making aimed at improvement. Designing an evaluation and accountability framework often leads to greater clarity in the program design and delivery. Periodic evaluation usually covers many issues including the policy development process or program rationale, program inputs, program delivery (process), and results. The Special Committee chose to utilize two approaches to evaluation. The first is a normative approach that compares the current situation to a language revitalization framework prepared by the Committee based on established linguistic theory and practice. The second approach is to supplement this framework with advice on program evaluation from a federal Treasury Board evaluation model. According to this model, as illustrated in Figure 6.1, effective evaluation must take into account:

- The continued relevance and rationale for a particular initiative or program

- The results and benefits from carrying out the initiative or program
- The cost-effectiveness of the initiative or program, including alternative approaches to achieving the desired goals (Treasury Board of Canada Secretariat, 2001, p. 4).

Figure 6.1. Basic program evaluation issues (Source: Treasury Board of Canada Secretariat)

A. Continued Relevance

Program Rationale

- To what extent are the objectives and the mandate of the program still relevant?
- Are the activities and operational outputs consistent with the program's mandate and plausibly linked to the objectives and other intended results?

B. Program Results

Objectives Achievement

- In what manner and to what extent were appropriate objectives achieved as a result of the program?

Impacts and Effects

- What client benefits and broader outcomes, both intended and unintended, resulted from carrying out the program?
- In what manner and to what extent does the program complement, duplicate, overlap or work at cross-purposes with other programs?

C. Cost-effectiveness

Assessing Alternatives

- Are there more cost-effective alternative ways to programs that might achieve the objectives and the intended results?
- Are there more cost-effective ways of delivering the existing program?

The Special Committee has determined that each of the elements in the language revitalization framework is relevant to effective official language protection and enhancement. The Committee has therefore reviewed and evaluated, in broad terms, the results of GNWT efforts to establish, sustain, and promote these elements. While doing this work, the Committee has tried to distinguish between 'outputs' and 'outcomes'. Outputs refer to the actions taken to achieve a certain objective, and can, for example, include such things as the publishing of language materials, convening of conferences, or provision of language instruction. Outcomes, on the other hand, refer to the impact of these actions: "Outcomes are benefits to clients from participation in [a] program. Outcomes are usually in terms of enhanced learning (knowledge, perceptions/attitudes, or skills) or conditions (e.g. increased literacy, self-reliance, etc.)" (McNamara, 1998, p. 5).

Although this chapter addresses the 'Continued Relevance' and 'Program Results' issues of the Treasury Board of Canada Secretariat's (2001) model, the Special Committee has not carried out a detailed 'Cost-effectiveness' analysis of all GNWT official language initiatives. However, the Committee has identified the relative costs and benefits of current and recommended options for change. These are presented in chapters 7 and 8.

In conducting the research and evaluation work for this chapter, the Special Committee accessed information from a wide variety of sources including:

- Government legislation, documents, and reports
- Independent studies of language programs and services
- Plans and other documents from the official language communities
- SCOL-funded studies on the Office of the Languages Commissioner, the NWT education system, Aboriginal language and governance issues, and GNWT language management systems
- SCOL-initiated focus group meetings and interviews with key informants
- Community consultations and public hearings
- Two SCOL-sponsored territorial languages assemblies.
- In a number of legislative and program areas, the Special Committee chose to seek specialized advice from independent, expert consultants to evaluate current and emerging practice.

PART I

THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGES LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK

The primary legislative tool for language preservation and revitalization in the NWT is the *Official Languages Act* (1990), or *OLA*, of the NWT, which is influenced and affected by the provisions of a few, important, federal acts outlined in Chapter 5, along with the *Northwest Territories Act* (1985). The GNWT has also introduced language and cultural provisions into a number of other territorial acts, particularly the *Education Act*, and these provisions help to further define and elaborate official language rights. This section provides an overview of NWT legislation with language provisions and an evaluation of this legislation based on stakeholder input and language revitalization theory and practice.

The *Northwest Territories Act* (R.S. 1985, c. N-27)

The *Northwest Territories Act* is the federal legislation that establishes and empowers the Government of the NWT. The federal government wanted to amend this Act in 1984 to make French and English the official languages of the NWT. The GNWT opposed this amendment on the grounds that it had sole jurisdiction over territorial language legislation. Instead, the GNWT passed the *Official Languages Act* of the NWT, which confirmed English and French as official languages but also recognized the indigenous Aboriginal languages.

At the same time, the federal government amended the *Northwest Territories Act* to ensure that the GNWT could not limit the rights granted under the *Official Languages Act* without federal approval. Section 43.1 of the *Act* states that "the ordinance entitled the *Official Languages Act*, made on June 28, 1984 by the Commissioner in Council, as amended on June 26, 1986, may be amended or repealed by the Commissioner in Council only if the amendment or repeal is concurred in by Parliament through an amendment to this Act." This clause effectively gives the NWT official languages, at minimum, dual statutory protection. As well, the *Act* states that there is nothing preventing the GNWT from strengthening the *Act* or offering additional rights or services without federal approval (Section 43.2). Based on this clause, the recognition of official language status for the Aboriginal languages in 1990 did not require federal approval.

The *Official Languages Act* of the NWT

The language revitalization framework presented in Chapter 5 identifies key elements of effective official languages legislation. These elements encompass the recognition, definition, and articulation of strong language rights, including education rights; some degree of autonomy over language and cultural matters; respect for collective and individual rights; and the establishment of a language agency or board to promote minority language issues. This section begins with a set of stakeholder comments and is followed by an overview and evaluation of the NWT *Official Languages Act* in relation to key legislative elements.

Stakeholder Comments Regarding the *Official Languages Act*

The following comments have been selected to reflect the range of views presented to the Committee during its consultation process.

> *The* Official Languages Act *represented a point in our history … where we were able to get something so important as the aboriginal languages in the North recognized. (Honourable Nick Sibbeston, Senator, Presentation at Public Hearings, 2002, March)*

> *I am hoping that despite the fact that we have had the* Official Languages Act *for 18 years now, since 1984, that the level of frustration and difficulty has not been too much, so that people will feel like giving up, because this legislation really is on the cutting edge of what is being done around the world as far as aboriginal or indigenous languages are concerned. So this is a really important piece of legislation…. The spirit and intent say that these languages will be preserved, developed and enhanced. We are not even preserving them well enough yet. We still need so much more work on developing and enhancing. (Harnum, B., former Languages Commissioner, Presentation at Public Hearings, 2002, March)*

> *The* Official Languages Act *has a wonderful preamble to it in terms of the goals that it seeks to achieve and the values it wishes to entrench. Unfortunately, the* Act *then does not go on in any meaningful way to allow for the realization of those goals. It does some things which are important in terms of the availability of government services in the official languages and the structure around ensuring that happens. However, as I mentioned, I do not think that you can legislate life into a language…. I think that there is some room in the* Official Languages Act *to achieve some of the goals around language revitalization and move away from a language police model. (NWT Literacy Council, Katherine Peterson, President, Presentation at Public Hearings, 2002, March)*

> *Which Minister is responsible for official languages? Is it the Minister of Education, Culture and Employment? Is it the Premier's office that is responsible? Who is responsible for official languages in the government? (Tutcho, J., former Languages Commissioner, Presentation at Public Hearings, 2002, March)*

> *Although inspired by its federal counterpart, and even modeled on it in certain respects, the NWT* Official Languages Act *itself has room for improvement but does not require a major restructuring…. Amend the* Official Languages Act *of*

Sabet Biscaye from the Native Communications Society of the NWT presenting at the public hearings in Yellowknife, March 2002.

the NWT with regard to French, in order to harmonize it with the Official Languages Act *of Canada.... The Preamble has excellent objectives ... [but] the Act restricts rights by certain sections (section 13 and 14).... The Policy and Guidelines reduce rights even further ... neither Act or Policy and Guidelines are applied fully by all departments and institutions. (Fédération Franco-TéNOise, Fernand Denault, President, Presentation at Public Hearings, 2002, March)*

The GNWT should fund the NWT Métis Cultural Institute to investigate the history and status of the Michif language in the NWT, with a view to determining the feasibility of making Michif an official language of the NWT. (South Slave Métis Tribal Council & NWT Métis Cultural Institute, Robert Tordiff, President, Written Submission, 2002, April)

We had personnel at the nursing station say "Well, the family should be interpreting for their mother anyway." I mean, we get attitude like that from service providers. It is not reflective of the intent of the Official Languages Act. *So when community transfer takes place, it is very important that those people who are taking on this responsibility are made aware of what those responsibilities are, especially if it is a legislated responsibility, and that they should know enough to negotiate the appropriate financial resources so they could provide that service. (Akaitcho Territory Government, Sabet Biscaye, Chipewyan Language Coordinator, Presentation at Public Hearings, 2002, March)*

> *There are certain additions that should be made to the* [Official Languages] Act *with respect to the role and powers of the languages commissioner. For example, the commissioner's dual role as ombudsman and the linguistic conscience of the Legislative Assembly should be stated more clearly. Because of the all-party nature of the Northwest Territories government, particular care should be taken to ensure that the appointment process maintains the independence from the government and the bureaucracy. The commissioner's right to investigate and to report should be accompanied by powers to summon witnesses and require the production of documents, to administer oaths, to receive and accept evidence and to enter government institutions in order to carry out an investigation.... Finally, I would suggest assigning coordination and promotion duties to the Northwest Territories Minister of Education, Culture and Employment similar in nature to the duties assigned to the Federal Minister of Heritage. (Official Languages Commissioner of Canada, Dr. Dyane Adam, Video Conference Presentation at Public Hearings, 2002, March)*

> *... the land created a place for language. As such, members say language criteria selected must reflect that each Aboriginal language lies within specific geographic boundaries.... For this reason, South Slavey, North Slavey, Inuinnaqtun, and Inuvialuktun should be designated official languages. (Office of the Languages Commissioner of the NWT, 2002, p. 15)*

Overview and Evaluation of the *Official Languages Act*

Rather than providing a detailed description of the *OLA*, the Special Committee has focused its attention on those issues and provisions that have been identified as being particularly relevant to this review process, according to the official language communities, government officials, the federal and territorial languages commissioners, and other stakeholders. A consolidation of the *OLA* is presented for the reader in Appendix A.

Housekeeping

The Special Committee, in consultation with the Department of Justice, has determined that the *OLA* requires basic revisions to accommodate and address issues such as renumbering of provisions, cross-referencing, spelling, and translation. These changes are allowed under the Statute Revision Act and are clearly identified in the proposed amendments to the bill.

Definition and Articulation of Language Rights

The *OLA* recognizes official language rights in the NWT, and provides official language status to English, French, and the indigenous Aboriginal languages. All stakeholders agree that this is a good thing. However, it is not entirely clear at this time whether these rights are constitutional or statutory rights. In Canada, federal legislation establishes and defines both constitutional and statutory rights with respect to the English and French languages and provides a general constitutional framework for the negotiation of Aboriginal language rights. Constitutional rights are the highest level of rights in that they are shielded to some extent from federal and provincial legislation. Statutory rights are granted through federal or provincial legislation and can be amended at the discretion of a particular government.

Francophones have constitutional protection in the NWT with respect to receiving French language services from federal government departments and being able to establish and govern French first language schools (under certain, defined conditions). Aboriginal constitutional rights are less clearly defined than French rights. Although the Preamble of the *OLA* expresses the wish to have Aboriginal language rights entrenched as constitutional rights, constitutional protection cannot be provided through GNWT legislation. Section 35 of the *Constitution Act* (1982) of Canada recognizes the existing Aboriginal and treaty rights of Aboriginal people — including Dene, Métis, and Inuit — and the inherent right to self-government, but these rights are not defined and are normally subject to negotiation. Across Canada, Aboriginal rights are primarily being implemented through negotiated agreements that define the terms and conditions of these rights for specific Aboriginal populations (Dupuis, 2002). Significantly, the nature of these negotiated rights can vary among Aboriginal groups, depending on the terms and conditions agreed to. Aboriginal inherent rights appear to include language rights, and language rights can, and are, being negotiated through self-government agreements in the NWT. These agreements are discussed in a subsequent section, along with their implications for the *OLA*. Importantly, language rights negotiated through recent agreements are collective rights rather than individual rights, differing from the *OLA*, which is based on individual rights.

… language rights negotiated through recent agreements are collective rights rather than individual rights …

If language rights under the NWT *Official Languages Act* are primarily statutory rights, then the specific provisions and overall implementation of the *OLA* and other territorial legislation and policies becomes even more critical to the protection and revitalization of our official languages.

The Preamble of the *OLA*

In legislation, preambles are the exception rather than the rule. They are generally reserved for fundamental pieces of legislation such as the federal *Constitution Act* (1982) and the NWT *Education Act*. The *Interpretation Act* (Section 11) (1998) clearly states that a preamble assists in explaining the purpose and objective of an Act. For this reason, preambles normally state the principles that led to the enactment of legislation, and are often said to represent the 'spirit and intent' of an Act.

The *OLA* preamble consists of ten clauses. The first six clauses recognize the distinctiveness of Aboriginal peoples and their languages and expresses commitment to the 'preservation, development, and enhancement' of these languages. The seventh clause, which expresses the desire to have Aboriginal language rights entrenched in the Constitution, reflects a long-standing objective of the Legislative Assembly:

> *... the government proposes to seek eventual entrenchment of the aboriginal languages in the Constitution as the official languages of the Territories at par with French and English. The government will pursue this aim with the aboriginal organizations through the process of the First Ministers' Conference on the Constitution of Canada. (Legislative Assembly of the Northwest Territories, 1984, p. 95, the Hon. Richard Nerysoo, Government Leader)*

The eighth clause of the preamble states the desire "to establish English and French as the Official Languages of the Territories having equality of status and equal rights and privileges as Official Languages." This clause was the driving force behind the 1984 *Act*, as discussed in Chapter 3, and is modeled on the declaratory provision in Section 2 of the 1968 federal *Official Languages Act*. The ninth clause is a general statement about the inherent link between language and culture. The tenth clause expresses a desire for equality of opportunity for employment and participation in the Legislative Assembly and GNWT regardless of mother tongue.

The Preamble does not currently acknowledge the primary role and responsibility that language communities have in terms of language protection and enhancement. It also does not acknowledge the right of Aboriginal language communities to some degree of language and cultural autonomy within their traditional homelands, which is a key element of indigenous language protection and revitalization.

The Interpretation Section of the *OLA*

Most Acts contain an Interpretation section that provides definitions of key terms and also clarifies the scope of the Act. In the *OLA*, the Interpretation section states that two of the Official Languages identified in section 4 of the Act include other languages: 'Inuktitut' includes Inuvialuktun and Inuinnaqtun; 'Slavey' includes North Slavey and South Slavey. However, these definitions have led to confusion regarding the number of official languages in the NWT: some agencies refer to 8 languages, others to 11. Amendments to the *Act* would clarify this situation.

With respect to scope, the Interpretation section of the *OLA* clearly states that it does not 'abrogate or derogate' the legal or customary rights of Aboriginal languages and that it does not apply to municipal governments. Based on input during its consultation process, the Committee has concluded that the scope of the *Act* is too narrow and that it should, at least, apply to agencies, including municipalities, that are delivering GNWT programs and services on a contractual or contribution agreement basis. This issue is addressed in Chapters 7 and 8.

Part I of the *OLA*: Official Languages

Part I contains the substantive provisions of the *OLA*: those provisions that establish rights and obligations. In Section 4, the Official Languages of the NWT are identified as Chipewyan, Cree, Dogrib, English, French, Gwich'in, Inuktitut, and Slavey. Three of the Dene languages are identified using anglicized terms, rather than Dene terms, which is an issue addressed by the Committee in its recommendations.

Subsection 8(1) reads that "To the extent and manner provided in this Act and any regulations under this Act, the Official Languages of the Territories have equality of status and equal rights and privileges as to their use in all institutions of the Legislative Assembly and Government of the Territories." Although expressing equality of the languages, this section also allows for some differentiation between English, French, and Aboriginal language rights, depending on criteria established in the Act or through regulations (none of which has been established). The phrase 'institutions of the Legislative Assembly and Government of the Territories' is very important because it establishes the scope of application of the *Act*. However, the institutions that the *OLA* applies to are not defined in the *Act* or through regulation, creating some legal uncertainty.

Sections 9 to 15 define individual rights regarding official language use as well as the language obligations of the Legislative Assembly and the Government of the Northwest Territories. Key provisions from these sections have been summarized below, for information and discussion purposes only:

- Everyone has the right to use any official language in debates and proceedings of the Legislative Assembly
- Tape recorded copies of debates in the original version or an interpreted version must be provided on reasonable request
- Acts of the Legislature and records and journals of the Legislative Assembly must be printed and published in both French and English
- The Commissioner may require that Acts and regulations, once adopted and as the need arises, be translated and published in other official languages
- French or English may be used in any pleading or process issuing from a territorial court

Katherine Peterson, President of the NWT Literacy Council and Helen Balanoff, staff member, presenting at the public hearings in Yellowknife, March 2002.

- Any official language may be used in a territorial court
- Simultaneous interpretation of court proceedings for the public may be provided in any official language if warranted
- All final decisions of the court or quasi-judicial bodies must be issued in French and English if it is of public interest or where any part of the proceeding was held in both English and French
- Any member of the public has the right to communicate with and receive services from institutions of the Legislative Assembly and from head or central offices of government in English or French
- Any member of the public has the same right to communicate with and receive services from other government offices in English or French where there is a 'significant demand' for specific language services or where it is 'reasonable', 'due to the nature of the office', to provide those services
- Any member of the public has the right to communicate with or receive services from a regional or community office in an official Aboriginal language spoken in that area where there is a significant demand for communications or services or where it is reasonable, due to the nature of the office, to provide those services.

Aside from the use of official languages in debates and proceedings of the Legislative Assembly, rights and obligations vary somewhat among the official languages. English and French rights generally encompass both written and oral use of the language, while Aboriginal language rights focus to a greater extent on oral usage. Service delivery in a particular language is conditional for all languages, but, because anglophones are dominant throughout the NWT, they tend to affect French and Aboriginal language service delivery to a greater extent.

Through its consultations and research, the Special Committee has concluded that Sections 9 through 15 do not adequately define language rights under the Act, particularly without regulations to clarify terms such as 'significant demand', 'reasonable', and 'due to the nature of the office'. This lack of clarity has resulted in confusion, frustration, and conflicting interpretations of the *Act*. Sections 8(1), 11, 17, and 28 refer to the establishment of regulations to guide interpretation and implementation of the *Act*. Particularly important is that GNWT departments, boards, and agencies — having regulatory powers in the areas of public health, safety, and security — be guided by official languages regulations. These types of regulations appear to be long overdue.

At a broader level, neither the Interpretation section nor Part I of the *OLA* designate a minister responsible for the administration and overall implementation of the *Act*. This lack of mandate, overall accountability, and authority appears to have weakened the impact and effectiveness of the *OLA*.

Part II of the *OLA*: The Languages Commissioner

Part II, which creates the Office of the Languages Commissioner of the NWT, was added in 1990. In its terms of reference, the Special Committee was specifically mandated to "examine and consider the roles and responsibilities of the Languages Commissioner." Due to the complexity of this issue, the Committee retained a consultant, Tompkins and Associates (2002), to conduct an independent review of the Office. This section presents and analyzes the information presented in the consultant's report, but draws its own conclusions.

Tompkins and Associates identified three main issues associated with the Office of the Languages Commissioner of the NWT:

- Duties of the Commissioner
- Authority and independence of the Commissioner
- Management and administration of the Office of the Languages Commissioner of the NWT.

1. Duties of the Languages Commissioner

   The legislated duties of the Languages Commissioner are to:

   > *[T]ake all actions and measures within the authority of the Languages Commissioner with a view to ensuring the rights, status, and privileges of each of the Official Languages and compliance with the spirit and intent of this Act in*

> *the administration of the affairs of government institutions, including any activities relating to the advancement of the aboriginal languages of the Territories.* (Official Languages Act, *Section 20.1)*

Three Languages Commissioners have held office since the position was established. The first Commissioner, Betty Harnum, began working in December 1991 and was Languages Commissioner through to January 1996, at which time Judy Tutcho was appointed to the office. Ms. Tutcho held the office until May 2000 and the current Commissioner, Fibbie Tatti, took on the office in July 2000. The three Languages Commissioners, although carrying out the same overall set of activities, appear to have established different priorities during their terms.

The first Commissioner focused on setting up the office and establishing a system for the investigation and resolution of complaints regarding non-compliance with the *OLA*. The ombudsman function was a legal requirement and some language communities were very concerned about service delivery issues. During the Commissioner's terms, the number of complaints dropped from 141 in 1992/93 to 21 in 1995/96, while the number of general language inquiries increased from 3 to 158. Suggested reasons for the drop in the number of complaints range from a greater public awareness about some of the limitations of the *OLA*, to lack of results, to lack of comfort with the complaint process, to a misinterpretation of complaints versus inquiries. The Commissioner carried out language research, making extensive recommendations to the Legislative Assembly in her annual reports. Many of the recommendations from her first report (Office of the Languages Commissioner of the NWT, 1993) were accepted and acted upon, but recommendations from subsequent reports were either rejected or received no response. The reports' recommendations generally dealt with:

- Clarification of the provisions of the *Act* and authority of the Languages Commissioner
- Implementation planning
- Enhancement of official languages service delivery
- Language research and training
- Implementation of previous report recommendations.

The three Languages Commissioners, although carrying out the same overall set of activities, appear to have established different priorities during their terms.

The second Commissioner focused more effort on language promotion within government and among language communities, although the handling of complaints and inquiries continued to be an essential responsibility. However, the number of complaints handled by the Office remained low, ranging from 6 in 1997/98 and 1999/2000 to 58 in 1998/99. The number of inquiries per year ranged from 40 to 120. The second Commissioner made only a few recommendations each year to the Legislative Assembly and none received a response. These recommendations included:

- Developing an implementation plan
- Establishing an accountability framework
- Establishing an advisory committee
- Reviewing the impact of privatization of interpreter/translator services
- Strengthening active offer requirements.

The current Languages Commissioner has focused on language promotion activities, establishing and appointing an Advisory Board made up of members from the official language communities, to maintain communication among language groups and provide strategic direction for language initiatives. She has focused on working with elders and the language communities to meet their needs, as well as upholding the *Act*. The Legislative Assembly accepted two of the recommendations from the Commissioner's 2000/2001 report. These included the need for interpreter/translator certification and for staff training regarding the *OLA*. Recommendations regarding simultaneous interpretation in the Assembly and funding for sociolinguistic studies were deferred. A recommendation for more funding for the Office of the Languages Commissioner was rejected. The Standing Committee on Accountability and Oversights noted that the Commissioner should have consulted the Assembly before establishing the Advisory Board, but chose not to challenge the decision given the independent nature of the office.

Each Languages Commissioner has acted within the legislative mandate, but because that mandate is broad, has been able to establish her own priorities.

2. Authority and Independence of the Languages Commissioner

The Languages Commissioner submits annual reports to the Legislative Assembly which are reviewed by the Standing Committee on Accountability and Oversight. This committee reviews her recommendations, adds comments and advice, and brings these recommendations to the Legislative Assembly. However, the Assembly is not legally required to act on these recommendations or even respond to the recommendations. The Commissioner's authority to advance language issues is limited to making recommendations, which, for the past ten years have, to a great extent, been ignored. The Legislative Assembly's ability to avoid dealing with the recommendations of the Languages Commissioner indicates that the Commissioner lacks the authority required to fulfill her mandate. All of the Languages Commissioners have expressed some frustration with their role.

The Languages Commissioner can appear in court on behalf of a complainant or as a party to a proceeding where the court permits [Section 26(2)] but, unlike the federal languages commissioner, cannot initiate court action herself. Further, the Languages Commissioner has the mandate to investigate complaints [Section 21(1)] but no authority to call witnesses, subpoena documents, or impose remedies or sanctions. The Commissioner can only make recommendations and ask that departments respond to these recommendations [Section 22(2)]. Where recommendations are not acted upon, the Commissioner may report the situation to the Legislative Assembly [Section 22(4)].

The Commissioner is ranked as a Deputy Minister [Section 19(3)] and sits at the pleasure of the Legislative Assembly [Section 18(2)]. She can either be an employee of the government or a contractor, since no reference is made in the *Act* to the employment status of the Commissioner herself. Her staff, however, is deemed public service. [Section 19(2)].

The Languages Commissioner's office is considered independent because the Commissioner does not report to a Minister. She is appointed by and reports directly to the Legislative Assembly. This status allows the Commissioner to criticize the actions of government for failure to ensure compliance and to establish action plans and priorities for the office, independent of government influence. This level of independence is standard for other commissioner positions, such as the Conflict of Interest Commissioner, and does not appear to be limiting.

3. Management and Administration of the Office of the Languages Commissioner

Tompkins and Associates (2002) identify a number of issues associated with the management and administration of the Office of the Languages Commissioner. These include:

- Inconsistent data collection
- A history of high staff turnover
- Lack of certain administrative authorities
- Lack of appropriate measures of accountability and performance
- Gaps between appointments.

A lack of proper training, staff turnover, and, in some instances, a lower priority placed on these functions has resulted in an outdated database and inconsistent data collection of inquiries and investigations. The Legislative Assembly should state the types of information it requires to assess the function and activities of the office and then work with the Languages Commissioner to develop the data gathering systems and provide the training required. Prescribing the data required and supporting the establishment of the systems required to collect and analyze this data would strengthen accountability.

High staff turnover, job descriptions and staff performance appraisals are personnel management issues rather than a systems issue. Staff has rights established through law and operational rules and guidelines. It is appropriate for staff issues to be addressed through these mechanisms.

Northwest Territories Senator, the Honourable Nick Sibbeston presenting at the public hearings in Yellowknife, March 2002.

The administrative authorities currently in place make commissioner offices accountable to the Clerk of the Assembly with respect to administrative and financial matters. Although the system is somewhat restrictive, its purpose is to ensure that direct financial accountability over these offices rests with the Legislative Assembly. Although the Tompkins and Associates' (2002) report recommends greater administrative separation of the office from the Legislative Assembly, as noted earlier, the independence of the office is defined by its ability to speak out and take actions consistent with its duties, not by its administrative linkages. As well, even with these linkages, a cursory audit of the Office notes problems with budgeting, variance reporting, business planning, and contracting. These issues need to be addressed by the Clerk of the Assembly under the authority of the Speaker and would not be improved by greater administrative separation.

The hiring process for the Languages Commissioner position improved during the last process, which was handled by the Legislative Assembly's Board of Management. The process for hiring arms-length officers of the Assembly needs to continue to be refined to meet the demands of these important positions. Performance appraisals and accountability measures should be addressed in the terms of reference or contract established for the position. Alternately, regulations relating to the position could be developed.

Tompkins and Associates (2002) also note that the Languages Commissioner position has been vacant for three to six months between each of the last two appointments. During these times, no annual reports were filed and no complaints or inquiries could be properly addressed. Fortunately, no Commissioner has had to be off-duty for an extended period of time, because no mechanism exists to appoint a temporary or acting Languages Commissioner. Obviously, the *Act* could be amended to allow for temporary appointments. As well, the Legislative Assembly could pay more attention to ensuring that gaps between appointments do not occur.

The development and monitoring of accountability measures for the Office have generally lagged behind other governmental organizations. However, Tompkins and Associates (2002) note that the GNWT Business Plan 2002-2005 does include specific, measurable targets. This plan is acknowledged as being a more appropriate planning approach and may be used as a model in the future.

4. Summary Comments

The Office of the Languages Commissioner of the NWT was established to promote official languages and ensure compliance with the *Act*. Given the existing mandate and level of authority, Tompkins and Associates (2002) conclude that:

> *The Office of the Languages Commissioner has been successful. The basic mandate, to respond to complaints and inquiries, to conduct research and investigations, to let the public know their rights and to raise the visibility of languages rights, has been met by all three Languages Commissioners. (p. 131)*

However, the authority and effectiveness of the Languages Commissioner is limited, partially due to the weak definition of rights established within the *Act* and the lack of appropriate and practical remedies and sanctions, but also by the fact that the Legislative Assembly has not always responded to the Commissioner's recommendations. At minimum, the Assembly should be required to respond to the recommendations of the Languages Commissioner within a certain time frame. As well, the dual watchdog/ language promotion mandate may be too broad for the Office to handle effectively. Regulations to the *OLA* might be considered to address the manner in which a Languages Commissioner is appointed and held accountable; the nature of record keeping and annual reporting to the Assembly; and the administrative and management functions of the Office.

Part III of the *OLA*: General

Part III of the Act is a series of judicial, administrative and legislative provisions. Section 26(1) allows anyone whose rights under the Act have been infringed to take legal action in court to obtain a remedy and allows the Languages Commissioner to participate in such actions. Section 27 allows the Commissioner to enter into agreements with other parties to implement the *Act*. Section 28 allows the Commissioner, on the recommendation of the Executive Council, to make regulations. As noted earlier, no regulations have been made. Section 29, which was added in 1990, provided for the current 10-year review of the *Act*. Members of the Special Committee believe that this period could be shortened in the future and linked to Census Canada data to allow the Legislative Assembly to better track and respond to shifts in language use.

The *Education Act* (R.S.N.W.T. 1995, c.28)

Education issues do not appear to be of immediate concern to the NWT's francophone community. French first language rights established under the *Constitution Act* (1982) were affirmed in 1996 through the NWT *Education Act* and French First Language Education Regulations. These regulations provide for the establishment of French first language school programming, taking into account the number of eligible children in an educational jurisdiction. The regulations also allow francophone parents to govern French first language programming. The establishment of *conseils scolaire francophone* in Yellowknife and Hay River and a territorial *commission scolaire francophone de division* appear to have met the constitutional requirements and immediate educational needs of the majority of francophones. The comments below, therefore, and the subsequent evaluation section, focus on the *Education Act* as it applies to Aboriginal language issues.

Stakeholder Comments Regarding the Provisions for Aboriginal Languages in the *Education Act*

The Special Committee has selected the following excerpts from its community consultation process to reflect the range of opinions expressed.

> *We took a look at the existing [education] systems. One of the things we found out with the existing system is that it is all done in English … using English concepts. They were not using Dene concepts. They were not using Dene processes…. There has been talk about culture-based education. I think Dene Kede was the closest thing to it. That is something that not all the schools are implementing. It is an instrument that can assist if the language works in the schools. (Deh Cho First Nations, Gerald Antoine, Presentation at Public Hearings, 2002, March)*

> *I think the … language provisions in the* Education Act *need serious consideration. I think the* Official Languages Act *should contain a section that specifies certain things for certain departments and for certain institutions. One of them, the most important, being education in the schools. (Harnum, B., former Languages Commissioner, Presentation at Public Hearings, 2002, March)*

> *We need to create stronger partnerships between Aboriginal language communities and the educational system. Processes need to be established that actively promote joint decision-making and resource sharing among District Education Authorities, the public college, and language communities. (NWT Literacy Council, Katherine Peterson, President, Presentation at Public Hearings, 2002, March)*

> *The* Education Act *provides a great deal of latitude for the use of Aboriginal languages as the language of instruction or as a core subject in NWT schools. Decisions regarding language and culture-based school programs are made at the community or regional level. This is in keeping with public feedback dating back to the 1982 Special Committee on Education's report, in which it is recommended that decisions made about language and culture should be made at the community level. In this regard, a supporting provision in the* Official Language Act *would be a positive feature, however, a provision that limits a community's options or its ability to make decision regarding its own children, might be seen as restrictive. (SCOL 2002c, Questionnaire to ECE, p. 1)*

Evaluation of the Provisions for Aboriginal Languages in the *Education Act*

Due to the importance and complexity of the issue, the Special Committee commissioned Mr. Eric Colbourne, a respected northern educator and former Assistant Deputy Minister, to conduct an independent study of the provision and delivery of Aboriginal language programming in NWT schools. The following evaluation of the *Education Act* consists of excerpts from pages 23-25 of the final study report — *Aboriginal Languages in the Education System* (Colbourne, 2002).

> *[A]new* Education Act *came into force in 1996. In substance, the legislation recognized that the multi-cultural character of Northwest Territories' society required an education system based on the cultures of the north.... [T]he new legislation for the first time established an implicit right for students to receive an education in an official language other than English and French. It is important to note that the language rights accorded under the NWT legislation are statutory in nature and do not carry the same weight in law as the constitutional right granted under the Federal Charter of Rights.*
>
> *Part III of the* Education Act *... deals with cultural diversity in the education system. Section 70 stipulates that the language of instruction be an official language (as defined by the* Official Languages Act*) and provides for more than one language of instruction. Section 71 outlines a process by which this can happen and establishes the 'reasonable limits' concept as part of the legislation. Under section 71(4), a District Education Authority may choose a language as the language of instruction if:*
>
> - *there is significant demand*
> - *there are a sufficient number of teachers who are fluent in the language*
> - *there are sufficient and suitable school program materials available.*

These limitations are far broader than the "where numbers warrant" provisions of the Charter of Rights and give district education authorities broad discretion in terms of implementation. This is an issue currently being addressed in the development of the new Nunavut Education Act *where much of the discretionary power is being placed at the ministerial level. The outcome of the debate in Nunavut may be instructive in reformulating legislation in the NWT.*

Under section 73(3) "If English is the language of instruction, an Official Language other than English must be taught as part of the education program." ... (Sections 59 and 60) provide for the hiring of language and traditional knowledge instructors and instructors for local programs. Where a qualified teacher is not available to teach an official language, other than English or French, a person may be hired who is fluent in that language; who successfully completes a test for that language administered by the education body, and who receives orientation in teaching methods as provided by the education body. *Section 75 requires the superintendent and principals ...* to plan the delivery of culture based school programs as part of the education program for the education district. *The Education body is also required ...* in accordance with the directions of the minister and to the extent that qualified persons are available, achieve and maintain in the school staff … a representation of cultural backgrounds that reflect the cultural variation of the population. *Given the statutory right to instruction in an official language other than English, these clauses would appear to place the onus on ministerial, divisional, and district levels to ensure that the right is realized. Future challenges under the legislation may clarify both the intent and the process by which these rights may be realized.*

Sections 75 and 76 ... place the onus on superintendents (directors) and principals to " ... plan the delivery of culture based school programs as part of the education program" *and on the education body to* " … achieve and maintain in the school staff ... a representation of cultural backgrounds that reflect the cultural variation of the population of the education district." *Coupled with the preamble* "recognizing the relationship between language, culture and learning" *these sections clearly establish the intent to provide a different model of schooling than that evident in most NWT communities.*

In summary, the Act *clearly establishes some important principles on which the education system is to be based. Schooling as a partnership with parents and*

> *communities; student-centred and culture based learning environments; and community control of education form a solid basis for a school system which will be effective in sustaining linguistic and cultural continuity. The central issue in terms of public policy is whether the* Act *should be more prescriptive rather than enabling in terms of overall outlook.*

The Special Committee acknowledges that the new *Education Act* is a positive improvement in an evolving northern education system. However, the Committee is concerned that the *Act*, while enabling and promoting the teaching of Aboriginal languages, establishes conditions that may be effectively limiting the delivery of programming. In Chapters 7 and 8, the Committee proposes amendments to language legislation and policy that would make the delivery of Aboriginal language programming more effective, and, in some instances, more prescriptive.

Provisions of Other Northwest Territories Acts

The following *NWT Acts* contain official language or other language provisions that apply to the NWT:

- The *Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act* (1994) allows for the translation of records into the official languages in some situations [Section 7(3)] and also allows people to ask for information orally in the official languages [Section 3 of Regulations]
- The *Business Corporations Act* (1996) allows for business names in French, English, Aboriginal, or in other languages [Section 10]
- The *Child and Family Services Act* (1997) states that " ... cultural values and practices must be respected when deciding the best interests of a child." [Section 3]
- The *Coroners Act* (1988) compels the coroner to use interpreters for any language when it is required at inquests [Section 54]
- The *Corrections Act* (1988) states that information for inmates must be in a language they understand [Section 15(2)]
- The *Elections Act* (1988) allows the Chief Electoral Officer to determine what official languages elections materials must be prepared in [Section 203]
- The *Guardian and Trusteeship Act* (1988) generally states that interpreter services must be used when a participant in the guardian or trusteeship process does not speak or understand the language of the application or proceedings
- The *Jury Act* (1988) allows anyone who can speak any one of the official languages to be a juror [Section 4]
- The *Local Authorities Elections Act* (1988) allows local governments to determine the official languages to be used on election ballots and forms [Section 16 (2)]

- The *Mental Health Act* (1988) requires interpreters to be used when a participant in the consent process does not speak or understand the language of the doctor [Section 19]
- The *Motor Vehicles Act* (1998) allows people who do not speak English to utilize an interpreter when taking a test [Section 76(2)]
- The *Plebiscite Act* (1988) allows for the use of any of the official languages, as required [Section 31(1)].

Evaluation of the Language Provisions of Other NWT Acts

Among the Acts listed above, the only Act that received stakeholder comment was the *Jury Act*. J.E. Richard (2001, October), the Senior Judge of the Supreme Court of the Northwest Territories in a written submission to the Committee stated that "the Court's inability to comply with s.4 of the Jury Act is of concern to the Court." Section 4 requires full interpretation of all of the proceedings during a trial. According to Justice Richard, there is a serious shortage of trained and certified legal interpreters for the Aboriginal languages and, as a result, the Court is "often unable to provide for the selection of unilingual aboriginal persons as members of the jury." Using untrained interpreters has led to the ordering of new trials "when a subsequent review of the translation proved it to be inaccurate, misleading, or incomprehensible, resulting in an unfair trial." Although Justice Richard did not make specific recommendations regarding this matter, he noted that the government discontinued the training and certification of legal interpreters many years ago. Sabet Biscaye, Chipewyan Language Coordinator for the Akaitcho Territory Government echoed Judge Richard's concerns:

> *I had a friend just come back from doing interpreting at the Supreme Court and she said it was extremely difficult. Why? Because it was difficult to interpret some of the terms. It could mean the difference between a person's freedom if there is a misinterpretation. So legal terminology is very important and that is something I think the government should make an effort to address. (Akaitcho Territory Government, Sabet Biscaye, Chipewyan Language Coordinator, Presentation at Public Hearings, 2002, March)*

The Legislative Assembly has two options: to amend the *Jury Act* to disallow unilingual Aboriginal jurors or to ensure that proper training and certification is provided for legal interpreters. The Special Committee supports the option of intensified efforts to train and certify Aboriginal language interpreters.

Language Provisions of Aboriginal Self-government Agreements

The Special Committee was concerned that the *OLA* may be affected by self-government agreements currently being negotiated in the NWT. The Committee did not want to recommend changes to the *Act* that might be in conflict with Aboriginal governance rights and principles. Due to the magnitude and complexity of Aboriginal self-government issues, the Special Committee commissioned Renée Dupuis, a respected constitutional lawyer, to conduct a review of Aboriginal language rights and governance issues. A brief summary of the current NWT Agreements are presented below, followed by stakeholder comments regarding language governance matters, and concluding with a discussion of the key findings of the Dupuis (2002) report, with implications for the *OLA*.

Current Agreements

In the NWT, two major agreements addressing Aboriginal self-government issues have recently been agreed upon in-principle and are pending final review and approval. These agreements are the *Gwich'in and Inuvialuit Self-Government Agreement-in-Principle for the Beaufort Delta Region* (2001) and the *Tłı̨chǫ Agreement*. As well, land, resource, and governance agreements are currently being negotiated by the Akaitcho Territory Government, the Deh Cho First Nations, and the South Slave Métis Tribal Council; and Délînê is currently negotiating a community self-government agreement under the provisions of the Sahtu land claims agreement. The Committee understands that these agreements will address language issues to varying degrees and wishes to ensure that the *OLA* is compatible with them.

The current Gwich'in/Inuvialuit Agreement and *Tłı̨chǫ Agreement* provide some indication of how Aboriginal language issues are being addressed through self-government agreements, but do not necessarily reflect the terms being negotiated by other groups. Some of the key language provisions in these agreements are as follows.

The *Gwich'in and Inuvialuit Self-Government Agreement-in-Principle* for the Beaufort Delta Region:

- Ensures that the Agreement will be published in Gwich'in, Inuvialuktun, English, and French
- Grants authority to the Gwich'in and Inuvialuit Governments to enact official language laws for their own respective governments, but not for the Beaufort Delta Public Governments created under the Agreement
- Allows both Aboriginal governments to provide language and cultural services to beneficiaries living outside of the settlement area
- Essentially gives the same authority over education to a Beaufort Delta Regional Government and to Community Governments that the Divisional Education Authority and District Education Authorities currently have under the *Education Act*. There are no specific language provisions in this section of the Agreement.

The *Tłı̨chǫ Agreement* states that the Tłı̨chǫ Government has the power to enact laws in relation to:

- The protection of spiritual and cultural beliefs and practices of Tłı̨chǫ citizens and protection and promotion of the Tłı̨chǫ language and culture
- The use of Tłı̨chǫ language in the operations of the Tłı̨chǫ Government
- The teaching of the Tłı̨chǫ language and the history and culture of the Tłı̨chǫ First Nation (not including the certification of teachers)
- Pre-school and early childhood development programs for Tłı̨chǫ citizens in Tłı̨chǫ communities or on Tłı̨chǫ lands
- Certification of persons to teach the Tłı̨chǫ language, history and culture.

As well, Section 7.10.4 states that the intergovernmental agreement required as a part of the overall agreement shall include " … a description of the manner in which Tłı̨chǫ language and culture and way of life of the Tłı̨chǫ First Nation will be respected and promoted …"

Stakeholder Comments Regarding Aboriginal Language Governance

A number of stakeholders spoke to the issue of Aboriginal language governance. A few key comments are presented below.

> *One possibility for the future as aboriginal governments get established in their regions, they ought to be very concerned about the whole matter of languages and also sign[s] of their culture, sign[s] of their control and power to be able to show that this is a Dene area. This is a very proud group of people who have strong feelings about their language and are willing to do something about it. (Honourable Nick Sibbeston, Senator, Presentation at Public Hearings, 2002, March)*

> *In 1993, there was a Deh Cho declaration that was made in Kakisa at which time it gave notice to people around us and within our Territory of who we are and what we are working towards. One of the primary goals was to resolve the Crown/First Nations relationship. (Deh Cho First Nations, Gerald Antoine, Presentation at Public Hearings, 2002, March)*

> *Aboriginal language development issues must be an integral part of the land claims and self-government processes so that all available resources are made available to support language revitalization…. The NWT Literacy Council supports the commitment to transfer responsibility and authority for Aboriginal language revitalization to Aboriginal language communities. We believe that this*

> *is a very positive development and, with meaningful support by public and Aboriginal government, has real potential to build individual, family and community ownership of Aboriginal languages. (NWT Literacy Council, Katherine Peterson, President, Presentation at Public Hearings, 2002, March)*
>
> *Over the longer term (within five years), the GNWT should negotiate the transfer of Aboriginal language and cultural funding now being provided to schools, to the regional Aboriginal governments and/or their associates. (South Slave Métis Tribal Council & NWT Metis Cultural Institute, Robert Tordiff, President, Written Submission, 2002, April)*
>
> *BE IT RESOLVED THAT, the Dene Nation expresses in the strongest terms that Dene languages belong to First Nations; AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED THAT, the 32nd Dene National Assembly request the GNWT to devolve all the resources to First Nations' communities, beginning with the Special Committee replacing principle 8 of the Review with the following wording: Establish stronger linkages, between and among the Dene language communities, that these communities and not the GNWT is strengthened through regional/community language boards. (Dene Nation; written communication with SCOL, 2002, July)*

Evaluation of Aboriginal Language Governance Issues

Dupuis (2002) confirms that Aboriginal language rights can be constitutionally protected through self-government agreements; whereas, the *OLA* provides statutory protection only. Administrative agreements, such as contribution agreements between the GNWT and language communities do not confer rights but can be used to support and enhance rights established through legislation.

The *James Bay & Northern Quebec Agreement* (1978) was negotiated before the *Constitution Act* (1982) and contains no explicit reference to self-government. However,

> *The James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement differs from the other, subsequent agreements in that it recognizes a larger number of guaranteed individual rights than the subsequent agreements ... such as the right of aboriginal people to use their language to communicate with aboriginal governments and in judicial proceedings, their right to an interpreter, their right to receive public services from aboriginal governments in their own language, and so on. (Dupuis, 2002, p. 80)*

Because the individual language rights established in the Agreement were already in place when the *Constitution Act* (1982) was enacted, these rights are now constitutionally protected. These individual rights cannot be diminished by the Aboriginal governments set up under the Agreement and therefore oblige these governments to provide Aboriginal language services on request.

The *Inuvialuit Final Agreement* (1984), which was signed after the *Constitution Act*, contained no self-government provisions and no specific language clauses. The Gwich'in (1992) and Sahtu (1993) Agreements included an obligation to negotiate a subsequent self-government agreement that would establish, among other things, law-making powers over language. The *Nisga'a Final Agreement* (1998) contains explicit recognition of the Nisga'a right to self-government, including the right to make laws with respect to language. The Gwich'in and Inuvialuit Self-Government Agreement-in-Principle would provide these two groups with the power to enact languages laws within their own governments, but not within the public government system being proposed to provide a broad range of services within the region. The *Tłįchǫ Agreement* (2002) does not explicitly recognize the right to self-government but would establish specific Tłįchǫ law-making powers through the Agreement, including the authority to make language laws affecting Tłįchǫ citizens within their traditional territory.

The difference between these modern agreements and the *James Bay & Northern Quebec Agreement* is that no individual rights are granted, only collective rights. The Aboriginal governments set up under these agreements would have the self-governing authority to pass language laws, but also have the choice whether or not to do so. The individual language rights of citizens of these governments would not be constitutionally protected and these governments not obliged to provide indigenous language services unless they pass their own laws to do so. However:

> *The members of aboriginal governments now have greater expectations of their governments ... in terms of laws governing the use and development of their language. They will also be able to put more pressure on their governments to ensure that the laws they pass protect their individual language rights.*
> *(Dupuis, 2002, p. 85)*

Significantly, the self-governing authority of these Aboriginal governments only apply to their own institutions, over their own citizens, within their respective traditional territories, as defined through the agreements or unless otherwise stated in an agreement. Residents of a traditional territory who are not legal citizens of a local Aboriginal government are governed by the terms of the Agreement but not necessarily by the laws enacted by the Aboriginal government; general laws of application still prevail. In the NWT, laws of general application would include the *OLA*.

Elder Daniel Sonfrere and interpreter Eleanor Bran at the Second Territorial Languages Assembly, Hay River (K'átł'odeeche) Dene Reserve, October 2002.

With respect to the Beaufort Delta and Tłı̨chǫ agreements, major program and service delivery would be carried out by the Aboriginal and/or public governments established under the agreements but will be done through service agreements with the GNWT, yet to be negotiated. Under the *OLA*, if the GNWT contracts the delivery of government services to Aboriginal or independent public governments, the *Act* does not apply, unless that condition is specifically written into the contribution agreement. In order to ensure that all GNWT-based services are bound by the *OLA*, the scope of the *Act* would have to be broadened to include agencies that have been contracted to deliver government services, including regional Aboriginal governments. This amendment would not only protect English and French language rights, but would also extend the individual language rights of Aboriginal people within their own territory with respect to services normally provided by the GNWT. This is significant, because these services may include major services such as education, health and social services, public works, etc.

The extent to which individual language rights would be protected depends on how prescriptive the *Act* becomes when amendments arising out of this review are tabled. Furthermore, devolution of federal program and service delivery to Aboriginal governments or to the GNWT would likely include conditions that affirm the individual language rights established through federal and territorial legislation. In effect, the *OLA* may complement self-government agreements by extending some individual language rights into co-management areas established through these agreements. The *Act* could also be amended to acknowledge the collective language rights of Aboriginal peoples within their traditional territories, thereby supporting (but not granting) constitutional protection of those rights.

Where Aboriginal governments are able to generate revenues to provide direct services to their citizens, without having to enter into conditional service agreements, these services may not be bound by the *OLA*, but by language laws enacted by the Aboriginal governments themselves. According to Dupuis, this situation "reflects the position expressed by the specialists [and Aboriginal stakeholders], who maintain that the powers and responsibilities with respect to language must rest with the communities themselves and with their governments" (p. 85).

Summary of the Official Languages Legislative Framework

Overall, the *Official Languages Act* lacks adequate definition and articulation of official language rights, is somewhat limited in scope, and lacks clear accountability and recourse for corrective actions. In order for the *Act* to take on the characteristics of effective language revitalization legislation, it would have to:

- More clearly define and prescribe specific official language rights, particularly the rights of Aboriginal and French language speakers to access services in their respective languages
- Recognize the concept of cultural and language autonomy for Aboriginal language communities within their traditional areas
- Broaden its scope to include, at least, contractors providing government services
- Establish a body or agency with primary accountability for administration of the *Act*.
- Include clear and practical remedies and sanctions where language rights have been infringed or denied, thereby putting more pressure on departments and agencies to comply with the *Act*.

These actions would not appear to conflict with, and may complement, Aboriginal self-government agreements. Measures also need to be found to enhance Aboriginal language provisions in the *Education Act*.

PART II

MANAGEMENT OF OFFICIAL LANGUAGES POLICY AND LEGISLATION

Management functions relating to the *OLA* have been broken down into four general categories that encompass the effective management elements identified in the language revitalization framework from Chapter 5:

- Policy and guidelines
- Management structures
- Management planning and accountability
- Language financing.

A description of each of these functions is presented below, followed by stakeholder comments. Each function is then assessed, incorporating the findings from a SCOL Official Languages Questionnaire circulated within the GNWT and analyzed along with findings from Languages Coordinator focus group meetings. However, "There were a number of methodological and quality control challenges and limitations that affect the degree of confidence in drawing broader conclusions from the [questionnaire] results" (Terriplan Consultants, 2002a, p. 1). These limitations include the quality of the survey questionnaire, the low response rate from departments, and the inability to validate data due to a lack of proper record keeping among departments. In spite of these limitations, the data gathered provided useful insights into government management systems.

Official Languages Policy and Guidelines

The GNWT's (1997a) *Official Languages Policy* states that " … members of the public have reasonable access to its programs and services in the official languages." This policy:

- Applies to all GNWT departments and a number of GNWT boards and agencies specifically listed in the Policy
- Makes the Minister of Education, Culture and Employment accountable to the Executive Council for implementing the Policy and coordinating the delivery of official languages services throughout government
- Makes Ministers responsible for delivering official languages services within their own departments, boards, and agencies.

The GNWT *Official Languages Guidelines Manual* (1997b) provides guidelines for the delivery of services in the official languages to the public. The main items covered in the guidelines are summarized below for information and discussion purposes.

- **Designated Areas:** The official languages in which GNWT services may be provided are designated for each community in the NWT. Any obligation to provide official language services in a community is restricted to those official languages listed in the guidelines. English is considered an official language for service delivery in all NWT communities. French is listed as an official language for service delivery in Fort Smith, Hay River, and Yellowknife.
- **Designated Offices:** Government offices located in a designated area and/or providing services to the public in a designated area shall make those services available in the official Aboriginal languages of that designated area. Government offices in Yellowknife that provide direct services to the public shall make those services available in French. The Departments of ECE; Resources, Wildlife and Economic Development; Justice; Public Services (now Public Works and Services); and Health and Social Services in Hay River and Fort Smith shall make those services available in French.
- **Active Offer:** The government is required to let clients know through signs, greetings, or correspondence that services are available in all of the official languages of that particular designated office.
- **Service Delivery:** Official languages service delivery may be provided through bilingual staff or by utilizing contracted interpreters. Interpretation services shall be utilized for public hearings and for public meetings where legislation or major government initiatives are being discussed.
- **Translation of Public Information:** Written government materials must be translated into an official language of a designated area (other than English) where the material has been frequently requested in that language or where the material is of significant importance to the health or safety of the public. Public radio and television announcements fall under the same guideline.
- **Forms:** Forms that are required by government regulation must be prepared in English and French where the form is commonly used by the public or where the form has been frequently requested in French. Forms commonly used by the public must be translated into the Aboriginal languages and must be available at designated offices.
- **Advertising/Job Postings/Tender Calls:** All job postings and tender calls in an area designated for French must be advertised in both English and French. Job postings for positions requiring fluency in an official Aboriginal language must be advertised in the appropriate Aboriginal language.
- **Signage:** Government signs must use the designated languages for that area. In areas with designated Aboriginal languages, the Aboriginal language must appear first on the sign.

SCOL members visiting a day care before community meeting, February 2002.

Stakeholder Comments Regarding Policy and Guidelines

A number of language stakeholders commented on the application and effectiveness of the current policy and guidelines:

> *There needs to be an implementation process and schedule for the implementation of the official languages guidelines and policies. My experience with the government has shown that it is good to have legislation but you also need to have policies and guidelines so that people who are responsible for implementing know, have some kind of road map on what is involved.... The* Act *speaks to the legislative requirements but because there appears to be no political or bureaucratic will, there is very little that is done to implement the* Act*.... In fact, I do not think GNWT staff or managers are even aware of this.... The official languages policy and guidelines, I guess, like the Dene Kede curriculum, does not appear to be taken seriously. (Native Communications Society of the NWT, Sabet Biscaye, Executive Director, Presentation at Public Hearings, 2002, March)*

> *Regarding implementation, the 1986 implementation recommendations remain largely not carried out.... Provision for regulations are in the Act but only Policy & Guidelines [are in place] which reduce scope and are unenforceable.... After*

> *the Official Languages Unit, there was no designation for responsibility. All Official Languages Commissioners have deliberately 'washed their hands' of taking action to ensure rights, status, and privileges of each of the Official Languages.... The main problem with the* Official Languages Act *and its implementation is the firm political will to obstruct the operation of the* Official Languages Act, *to deliberately oppose the attainment of its objectives, to prevent its implementation. (Fédération Franco-TéNOise, Fernand Denault, President, Presentation at Public Hearings, 2002, March)*

> *However, the availability of services in an aboriginal language, or at least the hypothetical availability of services in the official languages, is not well known. It is not well advertised and it is not well supported, in our view. (NWT Literacy Council, Katherine Peterson, President, Presentation at Public Hearings, 2002, March)*

> *Now, in terms of regulations, since the purpose of the Northwest Territories language legislation is to give effect to Charter rights, it follows that the details of the effective implementation of a revised Act would be better placed in regulations rather than the current guidelines since regulations are legally enforceable. I have noticed that the current legislation seems to agree with me on this point, since it also provides for regulations. As it stands, however, none has ever been enacted.... I would suggest, therefore, that in order to prevent such slippage between the Act and its policies, definitions of significant demand and nature of the office in the regulations would be an essential tool in making sure that full effect is given to the intent of the Act. These regulations, like the regulations under the federal* Official Languages Act, *would serve an essential purpose, setting out precisely where and how Northwest Territories' citizens can exercise their rights to official language services. (Official Languages Commissioner of Canada, Dr. Dyane Adam, Video Conference Presentation at Public Hearings, 2002, March)*

Evaluation of the Official Languages Policy and Guidelines

In the absence of regulations, the official languages policy and guidelines provide the only formal (but not legally binding) interpretation of the *OLA*, and are therefore important documents. The *Official Languages Policy* (1997a) provides for an accountability structure by making the Minister of Education, Culture and Employment responsible for implementing the policy and coordinating service delivery, and by making individual Ministers responsible for official language service delivery within their respective departments. The policy also provides greater clarity by designating which boards and agencies are covered by it. The policy does not, however, help to clarify the terms in the *Act*: 'where there is significant demand' and 'due to the nature of the office'. In fact, it further confuses the situation by using the phrase 'reasonable access'. Without any one body or agency (other than the Legislative Assembly as a whole) accountable for overall implementation of the *Act* (the ECE Minister is only accountable for the policy) the policy also has the negative affect of diffusing accountability throughout the government.

The *Official Languages Guidelines Manual* (1997b), provides a detailed description of service delivery expectations. These guidelines use very strong terminology, such as 'shall make those services available', 'is required to', and 'shall be utilized'. For this reason, service delivery can be evaluated in relation to these guidelines.

Through the consultations, the Special Committee learned that government departments did not follow the guidelines consistently. With respect to active offer, government offices have not maintained the capacity to deliver official Aboriginal or French language services in designated areas. Some forms required for basic services have not been translated into French and/or the Aboriginal languages. However, signage is one area where most government departments, particularly within Aboriginal language areas, seem to have performed well.

The relevance of the policy and guidelines to the operations of designated departments and agencies is evident from the results of the 24 completed responses to SCOL's Official Languages questionnaire:

- Only 46% of the responding departments and agencies felt that the Official Languages Policy and Guidelines were suitable
- 67% of the respondents do not monitor the application of the *Act*, Guidelines, or Policy
- A majority of the respondents have no procedure for providing official language services to a member of the public in the event that no internal users of that language are available
- 63% of the respondents do not keep documented track of the language services they provide, claiming a lack of human resources and lack of demand for such services
- 42% of the respondents do not have a policy for transferring obligations to uphold language rights in delivering services that are contracted out or privatized
- 79% of the respondents do not currently have an implementation plan for delivering services to the communities. (Terriplan Consultants, 2002a)

The language revitalization framework stresses the need for management decisions that are 'guided and accountable' through legislation and policy. The questionnaire results confirm that the official languages policy and guidelines are not being followed or monitored in a systematic way. If many departments are able to avoid or ignore implementing key elements of official languages policy and guidelines, the Committee must conclude that the policy and guidelines are not sufficiently prescriptive, nor are the accountability mechanisms adequate to measure and ensure compliance.

SCOL members David Krutko, Steven Nitah and Roger T. Allen at Fort McPherson during community meeting, February 2002.

Official Languages Management Structures

This section examines the current organizational structure in light of past changes, accountability, and stakeholder interests. In assessing overall management and administration of the *Act*, the profile of official languages within the government is important, including the level of authority of those responsible for implementing official languages programs and services. Also important, consistent with the language revitalization framework, is the involvement of official language communities in decision-making. This section begins with a summary of stakeholder comments about the management structure, followed by a description and analysis of the current structure.

Stakeholder Comments Regarding Language Management

The following comments are representative of the views presented to the Special Committee during its consultation process.

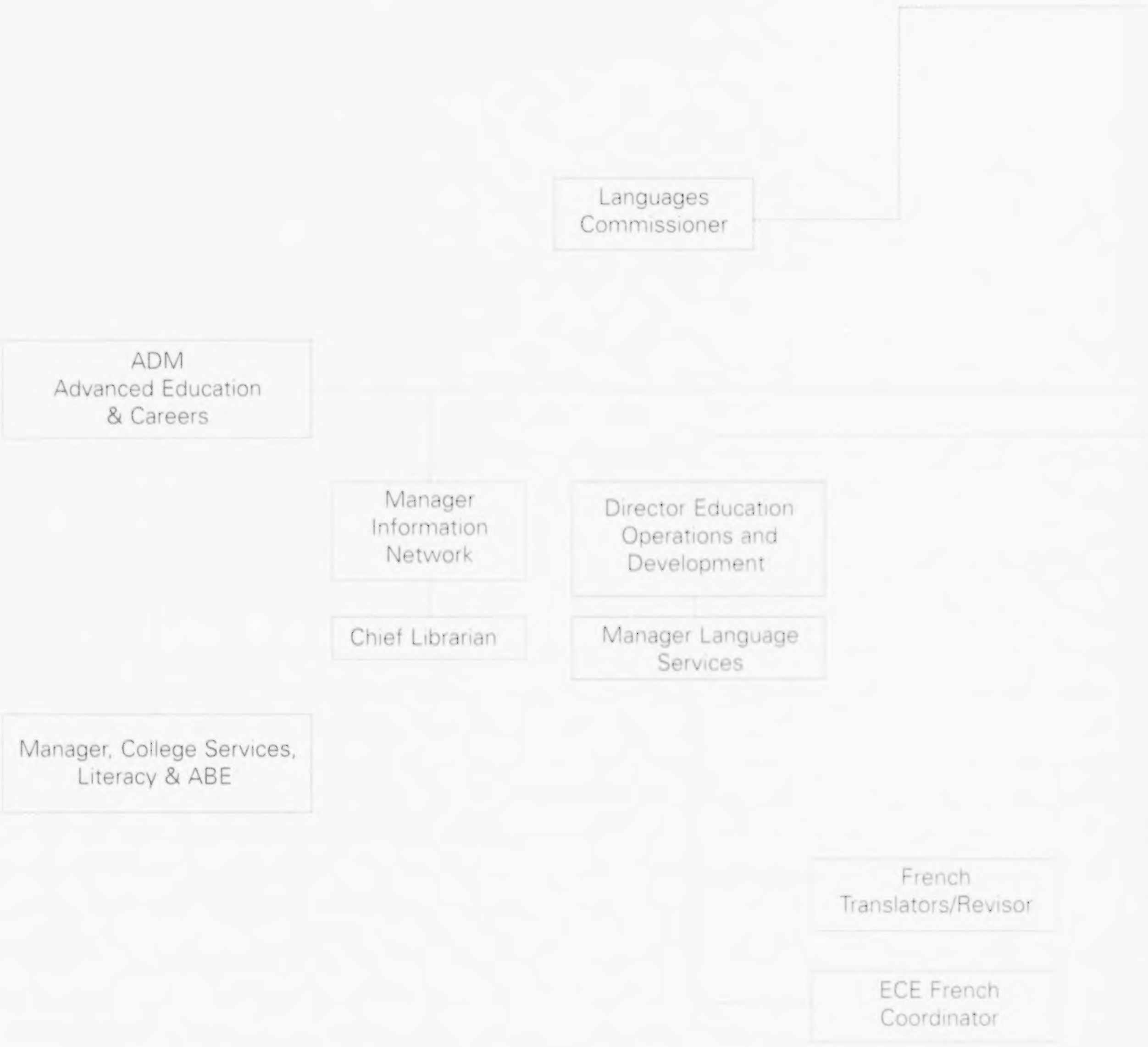
> *I think we heard it from the communities; ... they want to have more control. They want to be able to develop their languages and move to promote, enhance and speak those languages in those aboriginal communities. Again, it comes down to formulating a process that you do not have ... it is top heavy. Right now, you have the Department of Education, which seems to get all the money, but at the end of the day, you evaluate or determine how much a community is*

going to get based on each of the language groups, then in some cases, they will give the money to the school board, which there is no obligation for them to ensure that money is spent in those specific areas. They seem to take the notion that "Sure, we are responsible, but our responsibility only goes so far." (Akaitcho Territory Government, Sabet Biscaye, Chipewyan Language Coordinator, Presentation at Public Hearings, 2002, March)

I think if the Act *looked at moving towards a language board as opposed to reposing all of its authority and responsibility within a single commissioner. If that board had broader responsibilities in terms of coordinating support for language development and revitalization and providing resources and monitoring the development of language within language communities, which can all be legislated mandates of such a board, that it would go more towards achieving those things that are so nicely set out in the preamble of that legislation.... I think the board would have to have representation from the official language groups. I think that it needs to have some independence and some distance from government. Its reporting relationship likely should be to the Assembly.... The resources have to be visible, allocated within the budget to a group that is mandated to fulfil the objectives and mandates of the* Act*.... There is a lack of coordination of information and services provided by the government to both the language communities and the general public. (NWT Literacy Council, Katherine Peterson, President, Presentation at Public Hearings, 2002, March)*

A third point is the new model of language governance. The task this committee has undertaken can be an opportunity to create a new model of language governance that is more respectful of the aspirations of all major linguistic and cultural communities in the Northwest Territories. The language governance model adopted by the Northwest Territories should be a rallying force and should establish the conditions for a new collective identity based on the values of mutual assistance and sharing. This new identify should be consistent with Canada's values and history and the rights of the aboriginal peoples of the Northwest Territories. These are convergent values.... The Financial Management Board Secretariat, for its part, should be responsible for the overall development and coordination of the principles and programs for implementing the Northwest Territories' obligations with regard to services in the official languages. This department in particular would be responsible

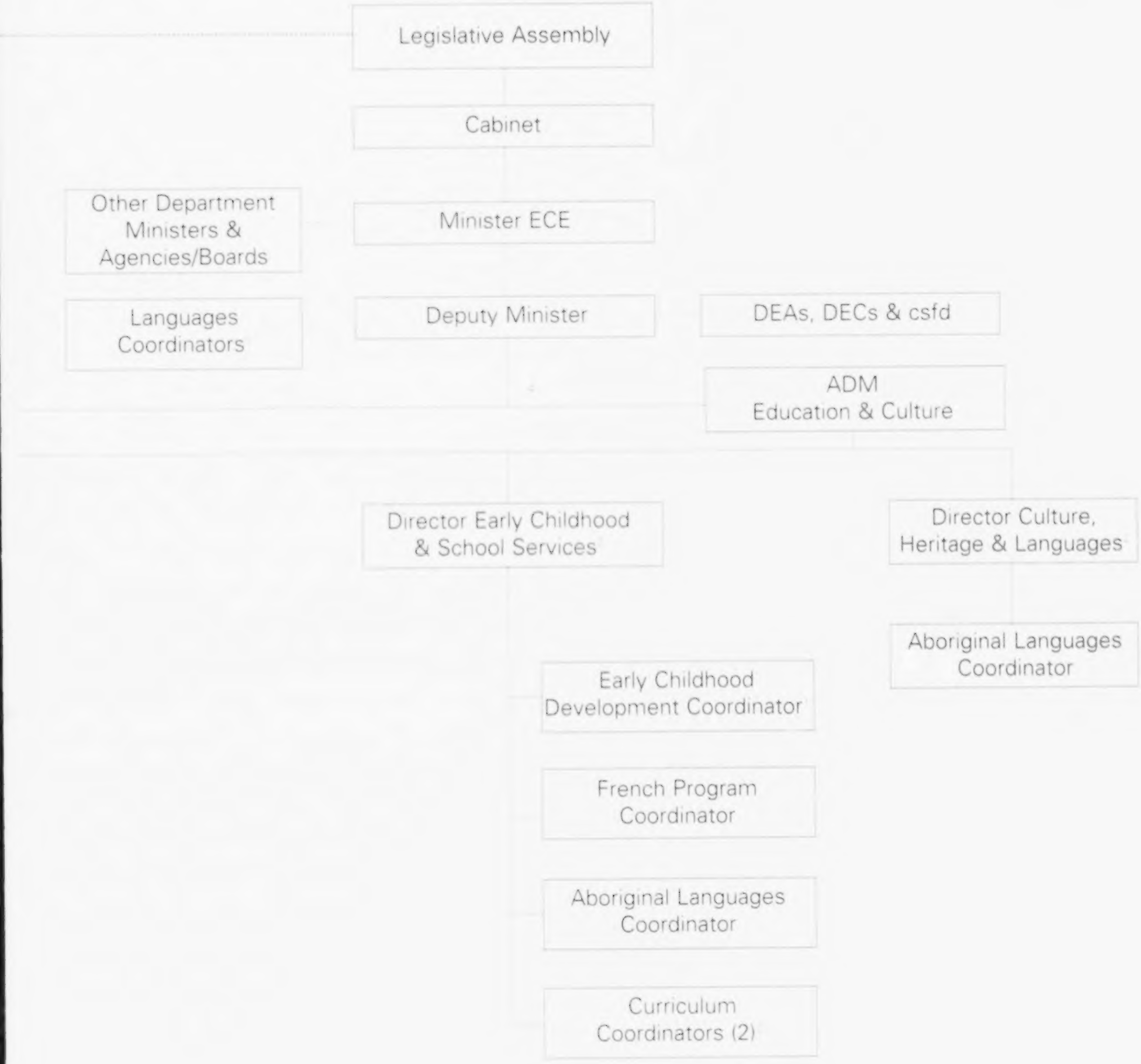
Figure 6.2. GNWT organizational structure for official languages (Source: SCOL)


Languages Commissioner
ADM Advanced Education & Careers
Manager Information Network
Director Education Operations and Development
Chief Librarian
Manager Language Services
Manager, College Services, Literacy & ABE
French Translators/Revisor
ECE French Coordinator

Notes:

1. Language Nests **2.** Language Acquisition **3.** Chief Clerk Agreement and policy

4. ECE Official Languages Steering Committee **5.** Languages Coordinators do not report to Ministers


Legislative Assembly
Cabinet
Other Department Ministers & Agencies/Boards
Minister ECE
Languages Coordinators
Deputy Minister
DEAs, DECs & csfd
ADM Education & Culture
Director Early Childhood & School Services
Director Culture, Heritage & Languages
Aboriginal Languages Coordinator
Early Childhood Development Coordinator
French Program Coordinator
Aboriginal Languages Coordinator
Curriculum Coordinators (2)

> *for monitoring and ensuring that all territorial institutions observe the effective and full implementation of official language programs. (Official Languages Commissioner of Canada, Dr. Dyane Adam, Video Conference Presentation at Public Hearings, 2002, March)*

> *...there is no one organization with overall responsibility for planning, coordination, and evaluation. Instead, each organization is left to develop its own programs and services and measure its own result. The bottom line is there is no overall language plan for NWT Aboriginal language revitalization or system of accountability that all organizations follow. At best, accountability is haphazard. Indeed, we are not tracking how organization-delivered programs and services are affecting language shift. (Office of the Languages Commissioner of the NWT, 2002, p. 10)*

Description of the Official Languages Management Structures

As noted in Chapter 3, the organizational structure for the management and administration of programs and services has continued to shift frequently, losing the benefit of continuity, stability, and recognition by external agencies. The current structure is illustrated in Figure 6.2.

The *OLA* does not assign any one agency to be responsible for the Act, so, by default, the Legislative Assembly holds primary accountability. The Languages Commissioner is at arms-length from government and reports to the Legislative Assembly, as illustrated by the dotted line. The ECE Minister is responsible, through policy, for coordination of official languages planning and service delivery, but "ECE does not have authority over the actions of other departments, boards, and agencies. ECE can only comment, advise, and report its findings to the Cabinet and to the Legislative Assembly" (SCOL 2002c, Questionnaire to ECE, p. 6). For this reason, Figure 6.2 does not include a connecting line between the ECE Minister and other Ministers. Compliance with policy and guidelines, if enforced, must be through persuasion or an order of the Executive Council.

To implement the official languages policy and guidelines, each of the departments and agencies of the GNWT have designated Official Languages Coordinators. The role of these languages coordinators is essential to understanding the current official languages management structure, because these coordinators have a primary role within the current system for assessing, determining, and monitoring official language service delivery within their respective agencies. These positions are discussed in more detail below.

The Department of ECE manages a great majority of the federal and territorial funding for official languages programs and services. For this reason, ECE's language management structure is detailed in Figure 6.2. Only those agencies and positions that are directly related to official languages programs or services are illustrated. Although not shown in the figure, ECE's primary language management body is a newly-formed Official Languages Steering Committee, made up of Directors and other staff. This committee reports to ECE's Executive Committee comprised of the Deputy Minister and senior management staff. The Steering Committee's mandate is to ensure that:

> *ECE exercises its commitment to revitalize, maintain, and enhance the Official Languages of the NWT, and to serve NWT residents in each of those languages, as prescribed in the* Official Languages Act, *its Policy and Guidelines. To this end, the committee coordinates and guides ECE's activities in support of Official Languages and its relations with the language communities.* *(ECE, 2002)*

ECE represents the GNWT on the Canada-NWT Cooperation Agreement Management Committee which is co-chaired by two officials — one appointed by the federal Minister of Canadian Heritage and one appointed by the territorial ECE Minister. ECE's Director for Education Operations and Development is the GNWT co-chair. Each co-chair can appoint up to four members to the committee. The current members of the Committee are all employees of the federal and territorial governments.

Figure 6.2 illustrates the current delegation of program and service delivery responsibilities among staff:

- The Manager for College Services, Literacy and ABE and the Director of Culture, Heritage and Languages manage Aboriginal language literacy programming
- The Manager for Information Networks, Manager for College Services, Literacy and ABE, and Director of Culture, Heritage and Languages have responsibility for a new program (fall 2002) involving the gathering and cataloguing of language resources
- The Director of Education Operations and Development, aside from working with DECs, currently oversees French language translation services and manages the Canada-NWT Cooperation Agreement
- The ECE French Coordinator oversees ECE services directed at the francophone community
- The Early Childhood Development Coordinator has been recently been assigned responsibility for a new Aboriginal Language Nest program
- The Aboriginal Languages Coordinator oversees the Aboriginal Language Community Program, although the Tribal Councils representing the language communities would likely communicate with the Director
- The French Program Coordinator is the departmental link to the French School Board
- The Aboriginal Language Curriculum Coordinators are two new positions with the mandate to develop an Aboriginal Language Arts curriculum.

The Divisional Education Councils (DECs) and the *commission scolaire francophone de division* (csfd) have responsibility under the *Education Act* for official language programming in their respective schools. The DEC boards are made up of representatives of the District Education Authorities (DEAs) within their constituency. The ECE Minster is responsible for the *Act* and, in cases of failure of a DEC or DEA to perform its duty, may take remedial action. DEC Directors hold deputy minister status, working closely with the ECE Deputy Minister and with ECE's Directors of Education Operations and Development, as well as Early Childhood and School Services.

The Role and Responsibilities of Official Languages Coordinators

In order to determine the role and responsibilities of Official Languages Coordinators within the system, the Special Committee commissioned an independent consultant to conduct focus group interviews with the Coordinators and compile and analyze the results. This section consists of excerpts from pages 3-5 of the consultant's final report (Terriplan Consultants, 2002b)

> *SCOL attempted to determine what each language coordinator understands their roles and responsibilities to be within their respective department. While some participants were able to reference their job descriptions to demonstrate their responsibilities, the job descriptions of over half of the coordinators [seven out of 13 participants] contained no reference to Official Languages responsibilities whatsoever ...*
>
> *For those individuals whose job descriptions did not directly mention official language coordination, direction was either verbally given by their direct supervisor, or simply taken from the* Act*, the Policy or the Guidelines. It should be noted that the majority of coordinators were either policy or communications specialists, and had simply assumed this responsibility over time.*
>
> *Overall, participants identified the following as their key roles and responsibilities as Official Languages' Coordinators within their respective departments:*

- *To provide advice and information to staff and management re: Official Languages requirements*
- *To co-ordinate development and monitoring of the department's Official Languages' budget with their Finance Unit*
- *To produce annual activity reports*
- *To participate on the Official Languages' Coordinators Committee*
- *To co-ordinate translation of materials/arrange for interpreter services*
- *To respond to related inquiries from outside their department.*

A review of existing job descriptions, as well as a ECE February 1999 memo, "Re: Responsibilities of Departmental Official Languages Coordinators", identified these additional roles:

- *Planning (developing implementation plans, tracking mechanisms)*
- *Providing information to the Languages Commissioner, when requested*
- *Identifying and coordinating the development of appropriate orientation, training, culture and resource requirements for front-line service providers and interpreter/translators*
- *Developing, monitoring and amending contribution agreements and contracts relating to Official Languages' service provision.*

In addition, under the Canada-NWT Cooperation Agreement, each language coordinator is responsible for:

- *Preparing work plans and budget proposals for activities funded under the Agreement*
- *Reporting on, and monitoring, the implementation of approved language programs and services and*
- *Preparing annual financial and activity reports for submission to ECE*

Two other key observations were raised in the discussions:

- *Over three-quarters of the language coordinators spent approximately 2-5 percent of their time on official languages-related duties*
- *The majority of departments had Official Languages budgets ranging from $1,200 to approximately $12,000. For these departments, most, if not all, of the funding went to the provision of French language services. Bilingual bonuses and payment for translations accounted for the majority of the spending.*

The exceptions were the Departments of Education, Culture and Employment (ECE), Health & Social Services (HSS), [Justice], and the Legislative Assembly, each of whom had significant budgets allocated to the provision of Official Languages services. [ECE has two full-time Official Language Coordinator positions and HSS has a half-time position.]

[Final] Observations: With the exceptions of ECE and HSS (and, to a lesser extent, the Legislative Assembly and [Justice], the coordinators' feedback suggests that:

- *The* provision *of Official Languages services is a relatively low priority within each department. It was recognized that Official Languages services* *are important, but that they are not necessarily a priority, given the range of issues and challenges facing both the GNWT and individual departments*

- *The* demand *for Official Languages services (for example, translation of recruitment ads) is very low, which could indicate why only a relatively small amount of money is spent each year (particularly for Aboriginal languages services)*
- *The lack of clearly defined roles and responsibilities in their job description generally contributes to a lack of accountability for official languages' service provision, as well as inconsistent application of the* Act, *Policy and Guidelines.*

Management Structure Summary

The language revitalization framework from Chapter 5 suggests that languages should have a clear, recognizable locus of control and a high profile. As well, good organizational design should provide for clear accountability and clear points of public service. Figure 6.2 and the focus group sessions indicate that the language management structure of the GNWT does not currently have these attributes. Official languages program and service responsibilities are diffused throughout the legislative, executive, and administrative branches of the GNWT, with no central agency with the authority and resources to effectively plan, coordinate, monitor, or enforce program and service compliance with the *Act*, policy, or guidelines.

Effective language revitalization calls for the official language communities to be more involved in governance and decision-making, engaging with senior government officials (Cardinal & Hudon, 2001). This lack of engagement is apparent in two new Aboriginal language programs (Language Nests and Language Acquisition) undergoing development over the past year without the involvement of the language communities. Although the Languages Commissioner has made efforts to solicit more Aboriginal involvement, her Advisory Board was established with minimal input and she controls the appointments. As well, language communities are not represented at the Canada-NWT Cooperation Agreement management level. In its options and recommendations, the Special Committee has therefore identified a number of structural measures that can be taken to ensure that language communities play a more active role in language governance and management.

Effective language revitalization calls for the official language communities to be more involved in governance and decision-making, engaging with senior government officials.

Management Planning and Evaluation Systems

According to language theory, status and corpus planning are essential to successful language revitalization initiatives. Status planning deals with legislation and policy, which have already been discussed, and corpus planning includes four main elements:

- Codification (recording, documenting, and standardizing a language)
- Elaboration (developing contemporary terminology)
- Implementation planning (setting goals, objectives, and programming and service priorities)
- Evaluation (measuring success, barriers, etc. and making appropriate policy, program, and service adjustments). (Ruiz, 1990)
- Although they contribute to planning decisions, codification and elaboration will be discussed in the program/service delivery portion of this chapter, because they are funded as such. This section will therefore focus on implementation-planning and evaluation processes that contribute to overall system accountability.

A review of the GNWT's planning and evaluation systems for languages has to take into account three main issues:

- The implementation of the *Act* itself
- Program and service delivery by GNWT departments, particularly ECE
- Program and service delivery by language communities.

Planning and Evaluating the Implementation of the *Act*

The Task Force on Aboriginal Languages (1986) report provided a broad planning framework for language revitalization initiatives, including governance, standardization, education, delivery of government services, and language promotion. This report also included a broad implementation plan and timetable, but this timetable was neither elaborated further nor followed. In 1990, the Special Committee on Aboriginal Languages was tasked to develop an official languages implementation plan, but made the following comments and recommendations in its final report:

> *Finally, the Committee considered the implementation of the proposed amendments to the* Official Languages Act. *After some deliberation, it was determined that an implementation plan would take some time to develop and require much more detailed and specific information than was before the Committee about the programs and services in the various departments. In order not to delay the Report of the Special Committee to the Legislative Assembly, the Committee recommends that responsibility for the development of this implementation plan be turned over to the Department of Culture and*

> *Communications, as part of their responsibility for coordinating aboriginal language services and the Canada-NWT Cooperation Agreement (Legislative Assembly of the NWT, 1990, p. 4)*

No implementation plan was developed.

The first report of the Office of the Languages Commissioner of the NWT (1993) contained recommendations that, like the Task Force (1986) recommendations, effectively constituted a broad official languages implementation-planning framework. However, there is no record of an implementation plan being developed by the Legislative Assembly or the GNWT in response to these recommendations.

The *Evaluation of the Canada-NWT Cooperation Agreement on French and Aboriginal Languages in the NWT* stated that "There is a need to adopt a more strategic and balanced approach to the planning and implementation of Aboriginal language programs" (New Economy Development Group, 1993, p.18). The report noted a reluctance on the part of government to implement official languages programs and services due to increased workload and limited funding (p.2). A later evaluation (Lutra Associates Ltd., 1996) noted that French and Aboriginal language programming must be better planned and coordinated. The Office of the Languages Commissioner of the NWT (1997) noted that "Fourteen years after the adoption of the *Official Languages Act*, the government tabled the first policy and guidelines on Official Languages. We are still waiting for an implementation plan" (p. 5). The Commissioner recommended that the GNWT develop an implementation plan that would accompany the new policy and guidelines. This was not done.

ECE's (2001a) recent annual report on official languages, Building New Foundations states:

> *A wide variety of tasks were undertaken to ensure that the terms of the Canada-NWT Cooperation Agreement were met: working on the implementation plan which included the formulating of an initial draft of the Department of Education, Culture and Employment implementation plan with regards to French services. It was hoped that this draft would be used as a model for other departmental implementation plans. This process came to a standstill in March 2001 as the person in charge left.... With regards to the implementation plan, this is an ongoing activity. It has been slow in proceeding due to the lack of response from the departments. (pp. 43-44)*

In October 2002, the Special Committee was informed that:

> *ECE has drafted an implementation plan for ECE and expect to have it completed by January 2003. The plan will serve as a template for other departments/boards, agencies for their implementation plans. A component of this plan will be to collect baseline data including staff assigned to the delivery of language services. (Daniels, D., ADM, email communication with SCOL, October 30, 2002)*

Inuvialuit drummers in Holman before community meeting, February 2002.

Planning and Evaluating GNWT Program and Service Delivery

The GNWT manages programs and services delivered through federal (Vote 4) funding and territorial (Vote 1) funding. The planning and evaluation systems in place for these two sources of funding are somewhat different, in that the GNWT is accountable to an external agency (Canadian Heritage) for funding provided through the Canada-NWT Cooperation Agreement, but is internally accountable for its own funding.

Planning and Evaluation of the Canada-NWT Cooperation Agreement

The Canada-NWT Cooperation Agreement provides the GNWT with funds to develop and deliver official languages programs and services. As detailed in Chapter 3, the Canada-NWT Cooperation Agreements signed over the years have included broad objectives for the Aboriginal and French languages. These objectives have guided implementation of the Agreement and have also changed at times to reflect policy shifts. Implementation has also involved the development of annual action plans for the Aboriginal and French languages, followed by annual activity reports. The annual reports provide brief descriptions of the programs, services, and projects and their expenditures under the Agreement. The reports have generally measured outputs rather than outcomes. In its search for data, the Special Committee could not locate the activity reports for the first seven years of the Agreement.

Formal evaluation of the operation and impact of the Agreement has been carried out through two major, independent reviews, the first by the New Economy Development Group in 1993 and the second by Lutra Associates Ltd. in 1996. The Lutra Associates Ltd. (1996) report identified four main strengths of the Agreement with respect to the Aboriginal languages:

1. Developing human resources by providing the funding necessary to develop and deliver interpreter/translator and Aboriginal language instructor training
2. Diminishing barriers to using government programs/services, particularly with respect to health and justice matters
3. Developing physical resources and infrastructure by providing a foundation for terminology, curricula, and resource development activities and by funding resource centres and cultural agencies
4. Developing partnerships among communities and institutions regarding language issues (p. 60).

Weaknesses of the Agreement with respect to the Aboriginal languages included:

1. A lack of clear priorities and overall planning which resulted in poor utilization of resources
2. A lack of broad-based input and involvement by language communities, which has undermined support for language revitalization efforts
3. Problems relating to resource allocation, particularly the grants and contributions process and the level of resources allocated
4. The lack of an appropriate regulatory framework, given that "a framework for interpreting the standard level of services required under the NWT *Official Languages Act* does not exist" (pp. 60-61).

The Lutra Associates Ltd. (1996) report identified three main strengths of the Agreement with respect to the French language:

1. Creating the capacity to respond to the legal obligation to provide French language services
2. Supporting community and cultural activities aimed at promoting French language and culture
3. Fostering individual ownership and involvement through the Community and Cultural Development Program (p. 62).

Weaknesses identified with respect to French included:

1. Reticence among government departments and agencies to provide French language services
2. The lack of clear expenditure guidelines
3. Reticence among francophones [to assert rights] due to the appearance that the French language has more power and resources than the Aboriginal languages, which constitute a greater population (p. 63).

Significantly, the report noted that a full evaluation of the impact, or outcomes, of the Agreement was not possible due to the following limitations:

> 1. An assessment of languages circumstances and needs in the NWT was not completed prior to the implementation of the [Agreement]. Perceived changes which have occurred over the course of the Agreement are based largely on anecdotal information rather than quantitative measures.
>
> 2. Where quantifiable data have been used, complete data may be unavailable due to inconsistent reporting over the course of the various Agreements.
>
> 3. Informants were for the most part reluctant to attribute perceived changes in languages circumstances solely to the [Agreement] … at a time when legislation was put in place recognizing Aboriginal languages and French as official languages; Aboriginal land claims settlements were being legislated; and significant socio-economic and political changes were taking place throughout the NWT. (p. 2)

The operation and impact of the Agreement have not been formally evaluated since 1996, but the current Agreement (1999-2004) contains more detailed objectives, actions, and indicators of success. As well, when negotiating with Heritage Canada, ECE made a commitment to develop a comprehensive evaluation framework for the Agreement, which would "provide a foundation and guidelines for evaluating the [Agreement], the administration of the agreement, and impacts of the funding programs and initiatives" (ECE, 2001c). This process of planning for evaluation was consistent with corpus planning theory. A draft Evaluation Framework document was prepared in February 2001 and included a set of evaluation objectives, activities, issues, indicators, and sources. A time frame for evaluation was also established, to begin at the end of 2002. However, at the time of writing this report, ECE had not completed the Evaluation Framework.

Planning and Evaluation within the GNWT

In 1994, ECE prepared a comprehensive strategic plan, *People: Our Focus for the Future — A Strategy to 2010*. Among other things, the plan established strategies relating to:

- Cultural funding
- Community heritage activities
- The role of elders and traditional knowledge
- Language services
- Interpreter/translator training and certification
- Language research and development.

Significantly, this document identified very broad and general outcomes in each of the following areas:

- Support for new cultural institutes
- Improved access to heritage programs
- Increased use of cultural traditions and language in everyday life

- Better documentation of traditional knowledge
- Increased emphasis on traditional knowledge in department programs and services
- Language services that reflect clearly defined service levels
- Certified interpreter/translators
- Improved research and development in the language communities.

Although a detailed implementation plan was included with the strategy, no specific output and outcome measures were established.

From 1994-1995 through to 1999, the GNWT has published an annual report on official languages that includes a summary of all departmental initiatives, including initiatives funded through the Canada-NWT Cooperation Agreement and through internal funding and/or resource allocations. These documents can reasonably be referred to as activity and expenditure reports.

> *The last reports covered the 96-99 period. Although there is not a formal requirement to complete these reports, we are revisiting the annual report. One of the questions we have, is what should be in the report ... historically it was a report on expenditures and we think it should also deal with outcomes. In reviewing the resurrection of the annual reports, we will need to get input from interested parties as to what they would like to see in the report.*
> *(Daniels, D., ADM, email communication with SCOL, October 30, 2002)*

Since 1997, GNWT departments have been required to develop annual business plans to establish departmental and program goals and objectives. In some instances, the business plans also identify the desired outcomes, measures, and targets for specific initiatives. Departments have also been required to prepare Results Reports that are tied to the previous year's business plan. The Special Committee has been able to access the Business Plans and Results Reports since 1998-1999, allowing the Committee to identify the most recent departmental planning activities relating to official languages.

The 1998-1999 and 1999-2000 Results Reports yielded the following general information:

- There were no GNWT-wide references to the *Official Languages Act*
- Only Health and Social Services; Justice; and Education, Culture and Employment (ECE) reported on language activities
- There was no reporting on language by the Legislative Assembly
- There was no reference to promotion or service delivery for the French language
- There were no references to the *Official Languages Act*, Policy, or Guidelines.

ECE noted that the GNWT "does not have a mechanism for tracking changes in Aboriginal language use on an annual basis" (GNWT, 2002c, p. 61).

A comparative review of the departmental five-year business plans updated in 2000, 2001, and 2002 generated the following language-related information:

- Prior to 2002, there are no GNWT-wide references to the *OLA*. In 2002, reference is made to respecting cultures and languages, with ECE having primary responsibility for coordinating cultural and language initiatives. Home language to mother tongue ratios are identified as the mechanism for tracking changes in language use.
- The Legislative Assembly references the review of the *OLA* and possible changes to the *Act*. The Assembly also establishes its own measure for implementation of the Act: the number of hours that sessions are conducted in the Aboriginal languages.
- Justice makes continual reference to the Community Constable Program, which, among other things, appears to be viewed as a vehicle to provide official Aboriginal language services; however, no specific outcome or measure is provided. There are no references to official language court services.
- Health and Social Services makes references to early childhood development strategies, some targeting language development, including language development in languages other than English. No outcomes or measures are identified.
- ECE establishes a number of language goals, most of which are educational. It also adopts the broad goal of establishing a society that reflects the culture, heritage, and languages of northern people. The outcomes established for this goal include having Aboriginal language communities assume responsibility for implementing their language plans, developing an Aboriginal languages strategy (developed and published in 2001), developing and implementing an official languages promotion plan, and establishing proficiency standards for interpreter/translator certification.
- There are no references in any department to French language services, but ECE expresses the intent to have francophone community organizations develop plans for French language promotion.

Along with its 2001 business plans, ECE (2001d) published the document *Revitalizing, Enhancing and Promoting the Aboriginal Languages — Strategies for Supporting Aboriginal Languages*, which establishes an overall vision for Aboriginal language revitalization and contains an implementation plan. This vision calls for a concerted revival of the Aboriginal languages:

> *Aboriginal people in the NWT want to be able to use their languages on an everyday basis. They want their languages to be spoken in the home and in the community; they want their languages to be taught in their schools; and they want government programs and services to be accessible in their languages. (ECE, 2001d, p. 1)*

The Strategy establishes four key strategic program and service goals, along with 31 strategic objectives, the majority of which are specific to language development. However, of the 31 strategic objectives presented in this report, 24 do not have a specific timeline, but are referred to as 'immediate and ongoing'; and all of these strategic directions can be considered outputs — no measurable outcomes are established. The Strategy expresses support for the direct involvement of language communities in language planning, and contains a specific action to "Develop an implementation plan for the delivery of government services in the official languages … " (p. 54).

Significantly, although official languages services and activities have taken place over the years, ECE acknowledges that there has been no overall evaluation of the results of these activities and the use and impact of GNWT language funding (i.e., Vote 1).

> *There has not been a comprehensive evaluation of overall funding, however there have been some evaluations of individual programs funded through Vote 1. For example, the Teacher Education Program has been evaluated. This year ECE has formed a Language Matrix Committee so we can better coordinate our language initiatives. One of the elements that the Matrix will be looking at is also a coordination of reporting on outcomes for our official languages. (Daniels, D., ADM, email communication with SCOL, October 30, 2002)*

This reference to outcomes is important with respect to our official languages. The language revitalization framework notes the importance of establishing "consistent statistical and socio-linguistic data and information gathering systems to determine and monitor the condition of a language and the ongoing impact of language revitalization efforts." The Office of the Languages Commissioner of the NWT's report made a specific recommendation regarding the need for ongoing socio-linguistic information:

> *In order to provide a consistent picture of language growth or decline across official language groups and in order to identify critical success factors that provide a basis upon which to make well-informed decisions for languages programs and policies, the Office recommends the Legislative Assembly approves funding to the Bureau of Statistics, in consultation with the Office of the Languages Commissioner, to undertake socio-linguistic research every three to five years. (Legislative Assembly of the NWT, 2002)*

The Standing Committee deferred acting upon this recommendation until the Special Committee on Official Languages had presented its findings.

Other types of important GNWT departmental evaluation data are also not currently being gathered. For example, the Department of Justice advised that it did not collect data on the number of times that unilingual jurors were used in actions or proceedings in the NWT, as per provisions in the *Jury Act*.

As discussed in Chapter 3, in 1999 the GNWT funded la Fédération Franco-TéNOise to study the delivery of French language services in the GNWT agencies and departments. This study by Nadeau, Beaulieu et Associé.e.s (1999), titled *Opération Polaroïd*, concluded that service delivery was inadequate.

Planning and Evaluation within the Education System

ECE has prepared a number of strategic planning documents over the past two decades that have articulated broad educational goals and objectives, including language goals. The first — *Learning, Tradition, and Change in the Northwest Territories* (Legislative Assembly of the NWT, 1982) — predated the *Official Languages Act*. This plan established a goal of having a range of Aboriginal language programs available in all communities, ranging from full bilingual programs to partial and emergency programs. Although the *Education Act* was amended to provide communities the ability to choose the language of instruction for their respective schools, the capacity to provide bilingual programs was never developed.

The ECE (1994) Strategy established two, major, strategic objectives relating to education: build a comprehensive early childhood learning system and improve student achievement. Although both objectives referred to the need to promote, develop, and implement culturally-appropriate programs (primarily referenced to the Aboriginal cultures), no specific Aboriginal or French language instructional strategies were mentioned.

A Minister's Forum on Education was established in 1998 and submitted its report in April 1999. One of the Forum's mandates was to review and update the strategic plan established in 1994. Rather than formally evaluating progress on the strategy and implementation plan, the Forum visited eleven communities in the Western NWT over a three-month period and prepared a report on its findings. With respect to language, culture, and heritage the Forum reached the following conclusions:

- More northern Aboriginal people should be working as teachers in the schools
- Communities have difficulty getting sufficient support for effective Aboriginal language programs in the schools
- Although there is some opposition to enhanced Aboriginal language and cultural instruction in the schools, overall, there is general support
- There is a shortage of materials and a lack of teacher comfort with Dene Kede and Inuuqatigiit. (ECE, 1999)

The ECE (2001d) strategy document cited earlier contained general actions relating to education, including developing and implementing Dene Kede at grades K to 12, supporting the training of Aboriginal language teachers, and providing interpreter/ translator training. It also contains the action: "Deliver Aboriginal language instruction in K-12" (p. 54). However, the most effective tool for educational planning and evaluation, a curriculum, is not in place. According to ECE, there is "no formal Language Arts curricula for Aboriginal languages" (SCOL 2002c, Questionnaire to ECE, p. 15).

Inuvialuktun Classroom in Tuktoyaktuk before community meeting, February 2002.

Recent GNWT Business Plans for ECE (2000 - 2003) do address Aboriginal language education and call for:

- The incorporation of culture, language, and heritage into early childhood programs, with a target of 80% of early childhood educators taking cross-cultural education training
- An increase in the number of Aboriginal teachers with degrees [but not necessarily Aboriginal language teachers] with a measured increase of 5% per year
- Improved support for culture-based education
- Aboriginal language literacy programs for all communities, with an initial target of establishing programs in six communities (GNWT, 2002a).

ECE describes the current evaluation and accountability structure for language programming as follows:

> *For the past two school years, as a pilot project, jurisdictions submit an annual report under the heading of an Accountability Framework. These provide statistical and anecdotal data regarding the operations of the educational jurisdiction and may be used by ECE to monitor programs. This Accountability Framework is being reviewed with the boards. One of the goals of this review is to provide greater accountability on Aboriginal language*

> *funding and programs. Prior to the implementation of the Accountability Framework, the Department required jurisdictions to submit annual financial reports and had an established schedule for jurisdictional reviews. These reviews included program evaluation as a part of an overall evaluation.*
>
> *TLCs [teaching and learning centres] and Boards are responsible for designing, monitoring, evaluating, and assessing school programs in support of Aboriginal languages.... Currently ECE is not directly involved in program evaluation although it has been in the past. Divisions and districts develop their own policies and practices with respect to the evaluation of school programs. (SCOL 2002c, Questionnaire to ECE, p. 13)*

Divisional Education Councils are required to submit an annual accountability framework to the department, but these reports only include an "anecdotal account of activities in the division/district, and a financial accounting" (ibid). Clearly, more systematic planning and evaluation systems must be put into place, encompassing strategic educational issues as well as specific and critical issues such as language instruction in the classroom.

Official Language Community Planning and Evaluation Systems

Beginning in 1998-1999, ECE began to establish contribution agreements with the Aboriginal language communities based on a generally accepted approach of transferring greater responsibility for Aboriginal language revitalization to Aboriginal organizations. This process is referred to as the Aboriginal Language Communities Program. As a first step, ECE provided funding to the language communities to develop five-year language plans, which would form a basis for funding further initiatives. By the spring of 2000, each language community had prepared a language plan for its region. The completion of these plans fulfilled a GNWT programming objective under the terms of the Canada-NWT Cooperation Agreement.

The structure of the language plans varied widely, but there was general consistency in their approach. According to the GNWT, the following points are identified in the various Strategic Language Plans:

- Language is an integral part of culture
- The role of elders is very important
- There is a need to train more language instructors
- The presence of aboriginal language and culture in the NWT school system must be increased
- Resources need to be developed
- More language/cultural institutes need to be established
- The younger population needs to be targeted. (ECE, 2001a, p. 1)

Implementation of the plans has been taking place over the past three years and annual activity reports have been submitted by language communities to the department. At this point in time, there has been no overall evaluation of the program. However,

> *Some of the proposals include an explicit evaluation component, others do not. Many of the projects support the production of resource materials ... needed to support literacy activities. In all of the cases where materials are being produced in an aboriginal language, there is a formative evaluation component involving consultation and vetting of draft material by knowledgeable elders, as a minimum. This provides quality control.... Some projects also involve a post-production evaluation in the form of feedback from users of the newly produced resources. (SCOL 2002c, Questionnaire to ECE, pp. 10, 11)*

A comprehensive evaluation of this programming would be very useful because some of the language communities have used innovative, integrated approaches to language revitalization at the community level. Once gathered, this information would be particularly valuable as a resource to share with other language communities and for future planning decisions by communities and other stakeholders.

Summary Analysis of Language Planning and Evaluation Systems

The Special Committee has found that the GNWT comes under considerable stress when asked to respond in a wholistic way to questions concerning official language planning and evaluation, due to a few key factors. First, the GNWT has never developed a comprehensive implementation plan for the *Official Languages Act*, in spite of ongoing recommendations to do so. For this reason, implementation of the *Act* appears to have been largely reactive. To its credit, the GNWT has responded, to some degree, to the concerns of the language communities as expressed through a series of studies and reports involving community consultation processes. However, without a proactive approach to the implementation of the *Act*, official language issues appear to have a low priority within government and therefore command little attention within the bureaucracy.

Secondly, the GNWT's primary focus has been on implementing the objectives of the Canada-NWT Agreement, which, until recently, contained broad objectives that appear to be more policy-oriented than implementation-oriented. Implementation of the Agreement has suffered from a lack of clear priorities and overall planning and from limited input and involvement by the language communities. Until the current Cooperation Agreement, no consistent measures were established or used to evaluate whether the objectives of the agreement have been adequately met or whether language initiatives are actually working. Most activity reporting was based on outputs and expenditure reporting rather than quantitative measures and outcomes. Even input and output information has been hard to find; it has been very difficult for the Special Committee to find the data it required to determine to what extent official languages services are being offered and utilized throughout government. Independent evaluation reports that have been carried out tend to arrive at similar conclusions:

- Clearer objectives, priorities, and measures need to be established, with the input and involvement of language communities
- Measures need to be outcome-based, using consistent, quantifiable data, where possible.

Thirdly, the recent GNWT departmental business plans show that planning and evaluation of official languages services has not been a priority of most government departments. The *OLA* and official language issues do not show up in the business or results reports of the majority of government departments. Even within ECE, official languages were of low profile from both a planning and evaluation perspective. In recent business plans, there is no mention at all of French language service delivery.

ECE has funded the Aboriginal language communities to develop and implement their own language plans. These plans have provided a greater sense of direction for language revitalization and have also allowed for the establishment of regional language priorities. However, ongoing evaluation of the implementation of these plans has not been happening and valuable promising practices information is not being gathered or adequately utilized.

ECE has funded the Aboriginal language communities to develop and implement their own language plans.

Fourthly, although schools' planning often makes reference to culture-based education, specific references to Aboriginal language instruction are uncommon and only surface in recent planning documents. Aboriginal language transmission, preservation, and development have not been explicit goals of the education system.

The only consistent instrument to measure the state of the official languages has been the language data gathered through Census Canada, particularly home language to mother tongue usage. As discussed in Chapter 4, this data indicates that all of the official languages other than English are in decline, with a few in serious danger of being lost in the NWT. This evidence indicates that official language initiatives over the past two decades have been inadequate in preserving, let alone revitalizing, our official languages. Regrettably, the Census Canada data is too broad for us to determine the success of any single community, regional, or territorial program or initiative, which is unfortunate, because sincere efforts have been made by many individuals and agencies to protect and revitalize the official languages.

Consistent with the language revitalization framework in Chapter 5, the Special Committee believes that appropriate language planning and evaluation should:

- Ensure that a comprehensive implementation plan is in place to guide all language initiatives
- Incorporate an ongoing evaluation system to ensure accountability and effectiveness
- Establish and use consistent statistical and sociolinguistic data and information gathering systems to determine and monitor the condition of our languages and the ongoing impact of language revitalization initiatives.

However, we have tended to react to problems as they arose; continued to plan in an ad hoc manner, without properly evaluating the impact or effectiveness of previous plans; generally placed a low priority on official language matters; and made minimal effort to consistently gather and evaluate statistical or sociolinguistic data and information, including basic data such as fluency and literacy levels among school-aged children. There is significant room for improvement.

Language Financing

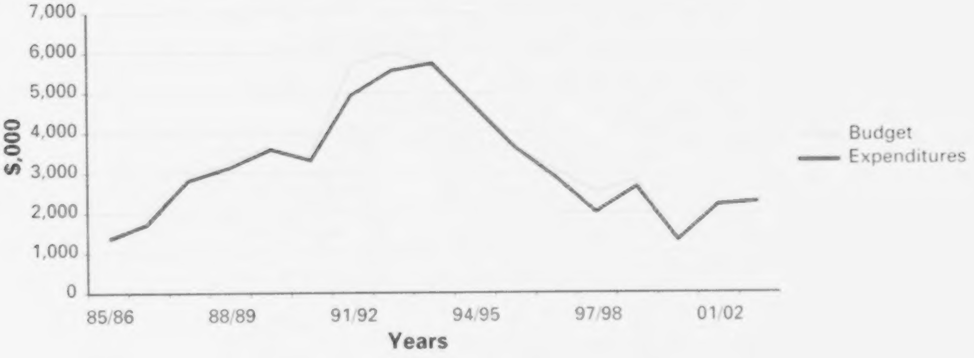
This section examines the sources, adequacy, and flexibility of financing in support of the *OLA*, language rights and language revitalization. The section also comments on financial reporting and public accountability for funding.

Canada-NWT Cooperation Agreement

During the negotiations that led to the establishment of the *Official Languages Act* of the NWT (1984), the federal government agreed to pay all costs associated with the provision of French language services in the NWT. It also agreed to contribute funding toward the preservation, development, and enhancement of the official Aboriginal languages. These commitments were formalized in the signing of the *Canada-NWT Cooperation Agreement on the French and Aboriginal Languages in the NWT*, which began to provide multi-year funding to the GNWT in 1986. This funding is referred to as Vote 4 funding. Federal contributions to the GNWT through this agreement have varied over the years, as can be seen from Figures 6.3 and 6.4. Contributions up to 1998-99 were prior to division of the territories. The funding is negotiated through the Department of Canadian Heritage.

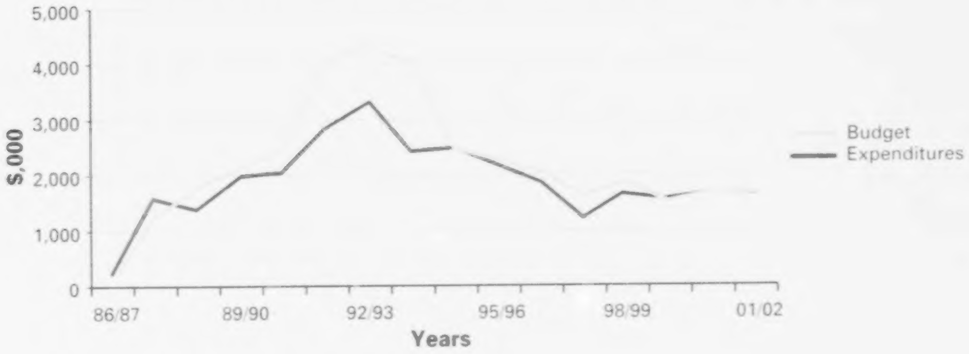
Through the Cooperation Agreement, the GNWT expended a total of $54.8 million between 1985 and 2002 for Aboriginal language enhancement and development, out of a budget of $55.8 million. Figure 6.3 illustrates the budget and expenditures for each year of the Cooperation Agreement.

Figure 6.3. Aboriginal language budget and expenditures,
Canada-NWT Cooperation Agreement, 1985-2002 (Source: ECE)



Through the Cooperation Agreement, the GNWT has expended a total of $30.1 million between 1986 and 2002 for French language service delivery, out of a budget of $35.2 million. Figure 6.4 illustrates the budget and expenditures for each year of the Cooperation Agreement.

Figure 6.4 . French language budget and expenditures,
Canada-NWT Cooperation Agreement, 1986-2002 (Source: ECE)



Overruns in government expenditures are normally not permitted. Budget lapses or under-expenditures of 5% or less are considered, from a management perspective, to be reasonable, especially on small budgets. Since the series of Cooperation Agreements started, under-expenditures have totaled approximately $1.0 million for Aboriginal languages (1.8%) and $5.1 million for French (14.5%). The size of the lapse in French language funding could be considered a serious management issue. The highest percentage of lapsed funding was during the second Agreement, 1991 through 1994.

Fort Smith youth Jonathan Beaver presenting at the Second Territorial Languages Assembly, Hay River (K'átl'odeeche) Dene Reserve, October 2002.

ECE has advised the Special Committee that, "In agreement renewal years funding is lapsed because of the lateness in receiving funds from Canada. This does not allow us to implement all planned programs and services as we are generally too close to fiscal year-end" (SCOL 2002c, Questionnaire to ECE, p. 5). Since 1998-99, budgets have been under better control and lapsed funding has not been an issue.

GNWT and Canada-NWT Cooperation Agreement Allocations to Languages

Figures 6.5 and 6.6 show how the GNWT has allocated both Cooperation Agreement (Vote 4) and territorial (Vote1) funding during the 2002-2003 fiscal year. As can be seen from these figures, Cooperation Agreement funding is primarily used for Aboriginal language community initiatives, teaching and learning centres, Aboriginal language broadcasting, language instructor training, and basic language research and promotion. Cooperation Agreement funding for French goes to the francophone community to support community-based cultural and language initiatives and to the GNWT for translation services and administration.

The GNWT allocates its funding to Aboriginal language programs and services. Most of this funding goes to ECE for school programming. For 2002/03, the GNWT has allocated approximately $8.8 million to Aboriginal language programming. This represents an increase of approximately $1.5 million over the 2001/02 budgets. Of this amount, approximately $6.1 million is allocated directly to Divisional Education Councils (DECs), with the remaining allocations going to Aboriginal language communities, Aboriginal broadcasters, and a variety of language programs.

Figure 6.5. Allocation of Cooperation Agreement and ECE funds for Aboriginal languages, 2002-2003 (Source: Language Services Section, ECE, GNWT)

ABORIGINAL LANGUAGES:			Coop Agree't	ECE
			$2,000,000.	**$8,849,474.**
Chipewyan	11.34% of population, receives $50,000 + 11.34% remaining allocation	153,000.		
Cree	3.52% of population, receives $50,000 + 3.52% remaining allocation	82,000.		
Dogrib	21.26% of population, receives $50,000 + 21.26% remaining allocation	243,000.		
Gwichin	12.31% of population, receives $50,000 + 12.31% remaining allocation	162,000.		
Inuvialuktun	21.22% of population, receives $50,000 + 21.22% remaining allocation	242,500.		
North Slavey	11.11% of population, receives $50,000 + 11.11% remaining allocation	151,000.		
South Slavey	19.24% of population, receives $50,000 + 19.24% remaining allocation	224,500.		
TOTAL Language Community Contributions:	**$**	**1,343,000.**	**900,000.**	**443,000.**
(Note: $85,000 unallocated in 2002-03 to be distributed to communities to evaluate and update language plans)				
Teaching and Learning Centres			475,000.	
Aboriginal Language/Cultural Instructor Program			200,000.	
Aboriginal Broadcasting			175,000.	170,000.
I/T Training Program			30,000.	
Language Planning			30,000.	
Promotion			25,000.	
Language Resource Development			5,000.	
Geographic Place Names	15,000.			
Health & Social Services Terminology Development/Workshop			45,000.	
Special Project: Review of the *Official Languages Act* – Aboriginal consultations			100,000.	
Official Languages Literacy			0	300,000.
Cultural Projects [formerly Oral Tradition & Cultural Enhancement programs] (Northern Heritage Centre)			0	66,000.
Language Services Section Administration:			0	280,000.
Language Acquisition (new initiative)			0	919,000.
Language Nests			0	486,600.
	Beaufort Delta	1,645,680.		
	Francophone schools with Aboriginal student	62,788.		
	Deh Cho	816,819.		
	Dogrib	930,325.		
	Sahtu	793,618.		
	South Slave	1,198,890.		
	YK1	388,894.		
	YK2	347,860.		
TOTAL School Aboriginal Language Funding:			0	6,184,874.

Note: Items that are underlined are part of the Canada NWT Cooperation Agreement

Figure 6.6. Allocation of Cooperation Agreement funds for French language, 2002-2003 (Source: Language Services Section, ECE, GNWT)

FRENCH LANGUAGE FUNDING:		Coop Agree't **$ 2,772,000.**
ECE	Translation	320,000.
	Services, bilingual bonuses	60,000.
	Policy and Coordination	150,000.
	Promotion	10,000.
Justice	Legal translation	425,000.
	Services, bilingual bonuses	32,000.
Health & Social Services	Health boards	178,000.
	Services, bilingual bonuses	27,000.
	Policy and Coordination	40,000.
Public Works & Services	Services, bilingual bonuses, office space, signs	86,000.
RWED	Services, bilingual bonuses	35,000.
Legislative Assembly	Services, bilingual bonuses, Languages Commissioner	20,000.
Transportation	Services, bilingual bonuses	17,000.
MACA	Services, bilingual bonuses	12,000.
Workers' Compensation Board	Services, bilingual bonuses	14,000.
NWT Housing Corporation	Services, bilingual bonuses	11,000.
Executive	Services, bilingual bonuses	10,000.
FMBS	Services, bilingual bonuses	4,000.
Finance	Services, bilingual bonuses	3,000.
NWT Power Corporation	Services, bilingual bonuses	1,000.
Fédération Franco-TéNOise	Community contributions	145,000.
Special Project: Review of the *Official Languages Act* — French consultations		50,000.
Schools Canadian Heritage, Official Language & Education Program		1,122,000.

Note: Items that are underlined are part of the Canada-NWT Cooperation Agreement

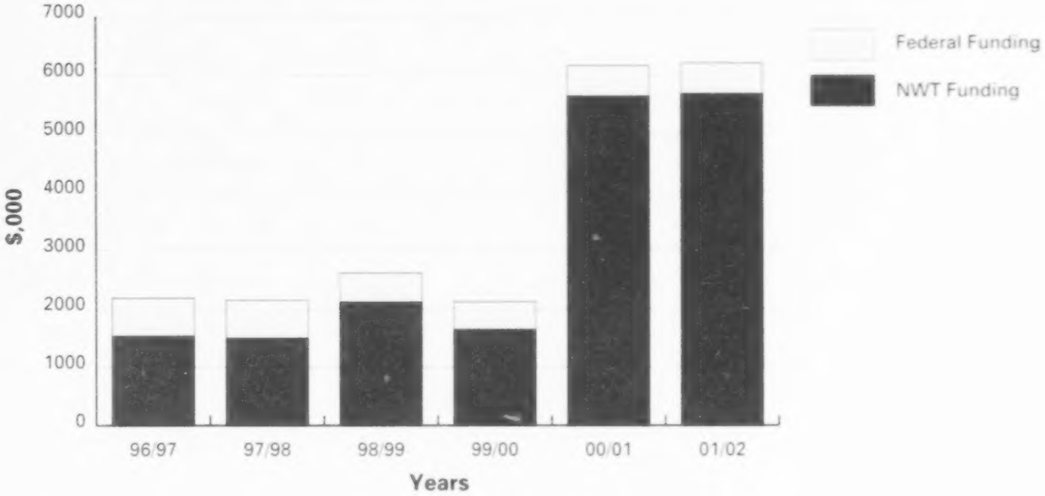
Along with this funding, the federal Department of Canadian Heritage provides incremental annual funding to the GNWT for French minority language schooling. In the fiscal year 2001-2002, this amounted to approximately $1.1 million. The GNWT also provides base, per-student funding to existing French first language schools as it does to all schools.

The GNWT also funds the Office of the Languages Commissioner. The average annual budget for this office has been approximately $350,000 per year, although it has risen over the past year to slightly over $450,000.

The largest single budget allocation for Aboriginal languages is the Vote 1 funding allocated to the Divisional Education Councils. According to Colbourne (2002), "The Government of the Northwest Territories allocates approximately 28 percent of its total annual budget to the Department of Education, Culture and Employment" (p. 35), and the Department currently includes two categories of designated funding in its overall budget for the schools area, one for inclusive schooling and one for Aboriginal languages (p. 36). Aboriginal language and culture-based education funding is allocated according to formula, which incorporates a base sum and allocations per full time equivalent (FTE) Aboriginal students. The education authorities also receive additional funding for Aboriginal languages through the Canada-NWT Cooperation Agreement. In his report for the Special Committee, Colbourne provided the following overview of language education funding.

> *Total allocations for Aboriginal languages have essentially remained unchanged for the past five-year period [see Figure 6.7]. The apparent increase in fiscal year 2000-2001 is merely a reflection of a change in reporting format rather than the provision of additional resources. In 2000-2001, salaries for classroom assistants and Aboriginal language specialists were transferred from the schools salaries category into the Aboriginal languages category of the budget. The change was effected in order to more accurately reflect actual contributions and expenditures in this area.*

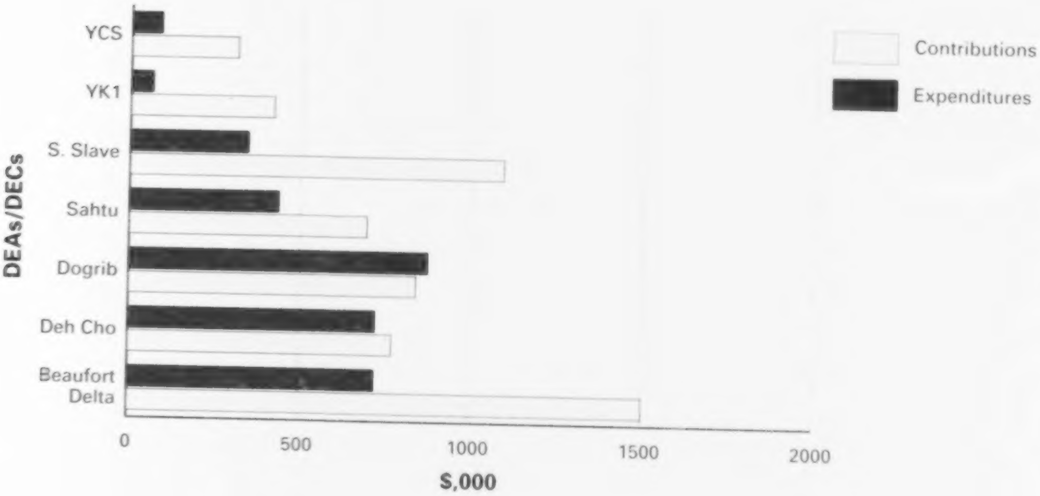
Figure 6.7 Funding allocations for Aboriginal languages
(Source: Colbourne, 2002, p. 37)



> *Audited financial statements for fiscal year 2000-2001 indicate that the Department allocated $5.6 million to school jurisdictions for Aboriginal languages. A further $0.5 million was provided through the Canada-NWT Cooperation Agreement on Official Languages. Of the NWT allocation, $3.1 million was expended. Only two jurisdictions, the Dehcho and the Dogrib, have expenditures in line with allocations. In other jurisdictions*

> *there is significant reallocation of Aboriginal language funding to other areas of the budget [see Figure 6.8]. It should be noted that within current budgetary constraints divisional education councils (DECs) and school districts have the flexibility to do this type of reallocation. (Colbourne, 2002, pp. 37-38)*

Figure 6.8. Aboriginal language contributions and expenditures by DEA/DEC (Source: Colbourne, 2002, p. 38)



Stakeholder Comments Regarding Official Languages Financing

The following comments reflect the range of opinions regarding financing expressed by the stakeholders during the consultation process.

> *Slippage ... and a decline over the years, inadequate resources ... are a problem.... The shortage of financial resources greatly jeopardizes the implementation of the* Official Languages Act*.... Invited to speak about the mechanisms to control the amounts paid under the official languages programs, the Minister (Stephane Dion) indicated that it was a 'gentlemen's agreement'. (Fédération Franco-TéNOise, Fernand Denault, President, Presentation at Public Hearings, 2002, March)*

> *There needs to be some sort of multi-year or block funding. I do not want to say block funding because it is a kind of word that people are using now, but what I am trying to point out is that in order to bring the language back to its level, it is not going to be overnight or a year. It is going to take a number of years, because the impact has been a number of years ... (Deh Cho First Nations, Gerald Antoine, Presentation at Public Hearings, 2002, March)*

> *It's been difficult to get money, confusing as to who has the money and who can get it. My suggestion was to distribute a list of all funding programs — it would be nice to see it under one committee — put all the money together and all the people sit on this one committee. (Betty Vittrekwa [paraphrased] in SCOL, 2001 & 2002, Community Meetings, Fort McPherson)*

> *The GNWT should ensure that Aboriginal Languages Community Funding is consistent over a reasonable period of time , e.g., through the use of five-year agreements with language community representative organizations....*
>
> *The GNWT should provide additional funds specifically to support language communities whose languages are endangered in the NWT.... Divisional Education Councils and District Education Authorities should be funded for language and cultural programming according to a formula based on the number of languages in the division and district, not only on the number of Aboriginal students. As a short-term measure, education authorities that receive funding for Aboriginal language and cultural programming should be accountable to the Aboriginal language communities. (South Slave Métis Tribal Council & NWT Métis Cultural Institute, Robert Tordiff, President, Written Submission, 2002, April)*

> *We would really like to encourage the decision-makers to consider allocating more funding ... the* Official Languages Act *does speak to promoting, enhancing, preserving and maintaining the aboriginal languages. The efforts that are being done at the community level do go a long way.... Education is given funding for language and culture. That funding goes to the local district education authorities. A lot of times, it is used to supplement the regular school language programs and is not necessarily allocated to language and culture programs. (Akaitcho Territory Government, Sabet Biscaye, Chipewyan Language Coordinator, Presentation at Public Hearings, 2002, March)*

> *One of our major points is that you must develop the capacity at the community level, so that [language development] is an ongoing activity, so that it is not resourced a year at a time or a project at a time. Therein lies the path towards some certainty in language revitalization.... The investment in official languages funding has been significant over the past 20 years, but what has been the impact on languages as a result of this investment? Do we know? (NWT Literacy Council, Katherine Peterson, President, Presentation at Public Hearings, 2002, March)*

Evaluation of Official Languages Financing

The Treasury Board evaluation model presented at the beginning of this chapter notes the importance of establishing cost-effective approaches to program and service delivery. However, detailed planning and evaluation data and information must be in place to adequately assess the cost-effectiveness, and cost-benefit, of programming initiatives. From this perspective, the most serious barrier to a more effective use of existing language resources is the absence of a comprehensive government plan and evaluation system for language program and service delivery. More funds would clearly be of benefit, but the existing funding can also be used more effectively.

Involving the language communities in broad budgetary planning and the negotiation of funding might be the first steps to improving cost-efficiencies, and, perhaps, to a stronger funding agreement with the federal government. The involvement of the language communities at this level of decision-making would ensure that funding decisions are a shared responsibility and may also strengthen GNWT-language community relationships.

Funding targeted for Aboriginal language programming in the schools, should be used for the purposes intended. As well, funding dedicated to Aboriginal language programming may complement cultural programming, but must be used, first and foremost, for language acquisition, particularly at a time when language loss among Aboriginal children is alarming. Accountability for Aboriginal language funds provided to schools must increase significantly.

Consistent with the language revitalization framework, the GNWT does dedicate base funds to Aboriginal language initiatives and ongoing, multi-year federal funding has been provided for French language services and Aboriginal revitalization initiatives. This funding has provided the basis for consistent program and service initiatives. In Chapters 7 and 8, the Special Committee has identified areas where additional funding would be most beneficial.

As well, special language funds, including endowment funds, can be utilized to support programming and services for those languages that are in decline. These funds can be set up through partnerships with language communities, industry, and other stakeholders. The francophone community has already established a cultural/language fund and the Special Committee is informed that the Dene Nation and Dene Cultural Institute are beginning discussions on a NWT Aboriginal language endowment fund. These types of funds should be supported by government, industry, and other language stakeholders.

Current financial reporting systems relating to official languages funding appear to be satisfactory, but, as discussed in a previous section, clearer outcomes for the use of this funding must be established, monitored, and regularly evaluated.

Summary of the Official Languages Management System

From a language revitalization perspective, the GNWT management system for our official languages could be significantly strengthened. The general steps that need to be taken include:

- Establishing a more prescriptive policy framework, with clear management accountability
- Ensuring that language communities are formally integrated into the management structure — as active decision-makers with respect to language initiatives that affect them
- Utilizing comprehensive approaches and systems for planning and evaluation (such as the Treasury Board model) throughout the system to ensure that all language initiatives produce the desired outcomes, are cost-effective, and ensure accountability.

The Special Committee has addressed these steps in more detail in the next chapter.

PART III

OFFICIAL LANGUAGES PROGRAM AND SERVICE DELIVERY

Revitalization theory clearly acknowledges that governments cannot, on their own, protect or revitalize minority or threatened languages. However, governments can establish language enhancement programs and can also ensure that members of a particular language group can access government programs and services in their indigenous language wherever possible, particularly within a language community's traditional area or territory. This section begins with a broad overview of Aboriginal language programming, contains a shorter section on French language programming, and concludes with a review of French and Aboriginal language service delivery. Each of these programming areas is examined below, beginning, in each case, with stakeholder comments from the Special Committee's consultation process.

Aboriginal Language Programming

> *There has to be capacity building that allows people at a community level to develop the skills to deliver, within their own community, language development and language retention. If those skills are not developed at a community level, then nothing else is going to work, or how it does work is going to be short-lived and short-term.... If you do not teach people how to enliven and breathe life into their languages, you could have all the programs in the world, you could have all the immersion in the world and it is not going to take you where you ultimately want to be, which is with a living and breathing language at a community level. (NWT Literacy Council, Katherine Peterson, President, Presentation at Public Hearings, 2002, March)*

Since the enactment of the *OLA*, efforts have been made to find an appropriate balance between Aboriginal language enhancement activities and the provision of government services in these languages. Aboriginal language programming can be broken into five main, broad (and sometimes overlapping) categories, consistent with the language revitalization framework presented in Chapter 5:

- Language research and development
- Human resource development
- Language promotion
- Media and technology
- Education.

ECE maintains overall responsibility for GNWT-funded Aboriginal language programming. However since 1999, ECE has transferred greater responsibility for initiating and implementing many of these program activities to the Aboriginal language communities through the Aboriginal Language Communities' Program. This program provides funding to develop and implement community- and regionally-based programs and projects. This section provides an overview of the main types of Aboriginal language programs that are currently being delivered, with a brief analysis of the current status and impact of these program initiatives.

Language Research and Development

> *There needs to be more money put into terminology development because if we want to provide services, we are asking government to provide services. In order to provide effective, adequate services, there is a need to develop terminology. (Akaitcho Territory Government, Sabet Biscaye, Chipewyan Language Coordinator, Presentation at Public Hearings, 2002, March)*

Most of the Aboriginal language communities have basic dictionaries and some have more detailed dictionaries.

Language research and development have generally involved four main activities:

- Standardization of writing systems (codification)
- Terminology development, including the preparation of dictionaries (modernization)
- The gathering of oral histories in the Aboriginal languages
- The documentation and formal use of traditional place names.

In the 1970s, the Inuit Cultural Institute (ICI) worked with communities to develop standardized syllabic and Roman orthographies, which were adopted in 1976. However, the Inuvialuit have since made changes to the Roman orthography and other regions have also wanted to review the approved system. Both the syllabic and Roman orthographies are currently used in the NWT and differing writing conventions persist. Considerable work on Dene languages standardization occurred in the late 1980s leading to a general acceptance of a standard Roman orthography. Although the new writing system can create intense discussions regarding spelling and has not resolved the issue of dialect differences, it has facilitated the publication of many Dene language documents and the teaching of literacy skills.

Standardization of writing systems has allowed for the development of Dene and Inuvialuit terminology associated with health and social services, justice, technology, and other contemporary subject matters. Considerable terminology development took place during the late 1980s and early 1990s, primarily by the GNWT's Language Bureau and Aurora College's interpreter/translator program. The Aboriginal language communities have continued to do work on terminology development, either self-funded or by partnering with government to develop terms for specific applications. Most of the Aboriginal language communities have basic dictionaries and some have more detailed dictionaries. Many of these have been developed with funding from the ECE Language Enhancement Contribution Program which was discontinued in 1999 when funding was provided to the language communities.

The GNWT Health and Social Services and Justice have initiated or participated in terminology development workshops. The Worker's Compensation Board (WCB) recently prepared a Dogrib Terminology Book on safety and the WCB claims process. ECE's Language Resource Development program assists these departments with funding to build on existing terminology bases and produce and distribute these materials.

Since the early 1980s, the GNWT has provided funding to community-based organizations to record and/or document the oral histories of elders. This Oral Traditions program (now called Cultural Projects) continues to receive more applications than can be funded. Aboriginal language communities also used some of their own funding sources to document oral histories and traditions.

Also initiated in the 1980s, the Geographic Place Names program carries out research in cooperation with communities, grants official recognition to Aboriginal place names, ensures that stories and legends associated with place names are documented, and submits community requests for official place name changes to the Legislative Assembly. Through this successful program, "almost 2,000 place names in the NWT have been added to the database of geographic place names, which can be accessed through the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre's web site" (Arnold, C., Director, email communication with SCOL, November 6, 2002). Six NWT communities have formally adopted traditional Aboriginal place names.

One of the problems associated with language research and development has been the lack of a central gathering and cataloguing facility. In many cases, materials developed by different agencies have not been shared or circulated or in some cases, materials have been misplaced or lost. No single agency has taken responsibility for gathering, storing, and distributing the language materials developed over the years. ECE has recently initiated a review that may provide this opportunity. Regional resource and cultural centres have begun to play a more active role in the gathering and cataloguing of language materials.

Former Languages Commissioner of the NWT, Betty Harnum presenting at the public hearings in Yellowknife, March 2002.

Human Resource Development

Chapter 5's revitalization framework proposes a graduated and certified system of full-time and part-time professional development training, particularly for language instructors and interpreter/translators, and that this training is based on meaningful employment opportunities. It also proposes professional development training for other service providers, including non-speakers. The GNWT funded the interpreter/translator training and Aboriginal language instructor training programs over the past two decades. This section provides comments from language stakeholders and a brief description and analysis of the current status of the two programs. The section concludes with a brief discussion of other professional development opportunities.

Interpreter/Translator Training and Certification

Stakeholder Comments Regarding Interpreter/Translator Training and Certification

> *Even that whole thing about interpreter services ... the point is that I remember at the Dene National Assembly, the chief said we need interpretation services. We do not really understand. So the people in this system said "Okay, we will do that." So you take a look at how the interpreting services turned out. They are still translating the English concepts and people are misunderstanding each other. (Deh Cho First Nations, Gerald Antoine, Presentation at Public Hearings, 2002, March)*

Interpreter/translator training, there is a need for it. This is the perfect example. Trained interpreters who are in demand will be offered good money to interpret somewhere else.... We have had numerous requests from community residents, people who know how to speak their language quite fluently, who have the education level but there are not interpreter/translator programs being offered. Aurora College used to do it, but because of the low enrolment, it was shut down.... So funding needs to be made available so that we can increase our base of trained interpreter/translators. Now that we have developed these tests for Chipewyan interpreter/translators, we can administer tests and start defining, setting certain standards. (Akaitcho Territory Government, Sabet Biscaye, Chipewyan Language Coordinator, Presentation at Public Hearings, 2002, March)

On the heels of the TEP program came the interpreter/translator program at Aurora College. The interpreter/translator program was a two-year program. You could take a certificate or a diploma.... The same thing happened. Students were sent to Fort Smith for the program. I was surprised because I had thought the government had already learned from the Teacher Education Program. You cannot take people out of their communities and out of their language resource base to learn language. These were interpreter/translators. They were sent to Fort Smith.... Some of them were the only person speaking their language. One Gwich'in student, one Inuvialuit student. Why? Why were they sent to Fort Smith again for interpreting/translating training? (Harnum, B., former Languages Commissioner, Presentation at Public Hearings, 2002, March)

Other work we need to think about is the fluency — how do we check to see if a person is talking correct Dene? In our survey, we said that there was an elders' level, traditional level (those spending time in the bush), and community level — or conversational level. There is also the beginner, or child, level. (Joachim Bonnetrouge [paraphrased], in SCOL, 2001 & 2002, Community Meetings, Fort Providence)

Students have complained about the location of the course, the lack of family support, the lack of jobs upon graduation, the need to give up public housing and the requirement to go on a waiting list for housing when they return to the community. (SCOL 2002c, Questionnaire to ECE, p. 7)

An interpreter/translator program ran as a base-funded program at Aurora College from 1987 through to 1998, with the bulk of the funding originating from the Canada-NWT Cooperation Agreement. The Language Bureau assisted the College in developing a certificate and diploma level program and also provided support in the areas of curriculum and terminology development. Program delivery was irregular, depending on enrollment levels each year. During the early years of the program, the College and Language Bureau worked closely with the Departments of Health and Justice to develop specialized training modules for medical and legal interpreting. These fields had the highest demand for interpreters.

During the program period 1991-1992 through 1995-1996, approximately 184 students attended the program part-time, taking specialty modules, and approximately 35 students attended full-time. Of these, 9 students completed the certificate level and 8 graduated with a diploma. The total cost of I/T training during this period, including full and part-time programming and terminology development (but excluding the Language Bureau costs), was approximately $800 thousand per year, with the bulk of the funding going directly to the College and other funding routed through Health and Justice. In 1995, all I/T training was turned over to the College, based on recommendations contained in a review of the training program by Avery, Cooper (1995). This consolidation coincided with other changes:

> *During the 1996/1997 academic year, the year following the consolidation of Interpreter/Translator training in the North, the College experienced a marked decline in student enrolment. During this same academic year, the government privatized language services in the North. The decision was made to discontinue the Interpreter/Translator program at Aurora College, after the students enrolled in the diploma program had completed their studies. Two individuals completed their ... diplomas during the program's final year in 1997/98. (Aurora College, 2000, p. 10)*

Further reviews that discuss I/T training and services contain the following observations:

- I/T training should continue to be offered on a rotational basis within communities where a need for training has been identified (Harnum, 1999)
- There is an ongoing need for legal interpreter training (Department of Justice as cited in Aurora College, 2000)
- There is an ongoing need for medical terminology development and medical interpreter training (Stanton Regional Hospital as cited in Aurora College, 2000)
- The level of language services has declined with the privatization of the Language Bureau and serious concerns have been raised about the high cost of I/T services, the accuracy of translation, and the qualifications and availability of interpreter/translators (Office of the Languages Commissioner of the NWT, 2000).

The report by the Languages Commissioner (2000) recommended that the OLA apply to GNWT contracted services, to increase demand for I/T services, and that proper certification and professional monitoring systems be established for I/T services.

In the most recent report (Aurora College, 2000), both students and employers commented on the lack of full-time employment for interpreter/translators and the sporadic nature of employment. This report recommends:

- Offering medical and legal interpreting modules "that respond to the immediate needs of the labour market" (p. 67) rather than a full-time I/T program and establishing a working group to revise and update the I/T curricula
- Targeting previous students who have not yet completed their certificate or diploma levels
- Setting minimum standards for English language levels and Aboriginal language fluency levels
- Ensuring that the standard of instruction remain high in all course delivery
- Offering course modules at the regional/community level, where there is local support and adequate infrastructure.

Based on the current Languages Commissioner's 2000-2001 annual report, the Standing Committee on Accountability and Oversight has recommended that "the government establish a comprehensive strategy for the training and certification of aboriginal language interpreter/translators by 2002" (Legislative Assembly of the NWT, 2002, p. 5). ECE has acknowledged that language standards need to be developed and has funded the Akaitcho Territory to "work on language standards and testing materials for the certification of Chipewyan translators and interpreters" (Daniels, D., ADM, email communication with SCOL, October 30, 2002). This work was due to be completed in December 2002.

Language Instructor Training and Certification

Stakeholder Comments Regarding Language Instructor Training and Certification

> *We have many people who are working in the schools, for example … for many years. Some of them have been teaching their language for 15 or 20 years. They still do not have any certification … any professional recognition … the* Education Act *makes a special provision to say that elders are allowed or permitted in the schools, that they should be acknowledged as — I do not think the word is professional, and I am sorry I do not have the* Education Act *here, but there is a provision in there that says the schools can hire them. But what about a professional designation? … These things are important to people, and there are so many people in the Northwest Territories and elsewhere who have dedicated their lives to language and there is no recognition. They need that. (Akaitcho Territory Government, Sabet Biscaye, Chipewyan Language Coordinator, Presentation at Public Hearings, 2002, March)*

> *I think that is one thing that may be missing in the Territories. We do not have specific training for people to learn how to teach language specifically. There is the Teacher Education Program and it used to be called the Aboriginal Language Specialist Certificate. It is now called the Aboriginal Cultural and Language Specialist, if I am not mistaken. It is an eight-month program. Most recently, I think it may still be being taught in Inuvik. [Liz] Hansen is the person who is teaching it up there but there is a Dogrib student up there in Inuvik. Why? Why is a Dogrib speaking person sent to Inuvik to learn to be an aboriginal language specialist? ...*
>
> *They want it in their communities where the language resource base is. They have to do it there. You cannot send one student of a language to a community where that language is not spoken and expect that student to be able to progress and develop language skills. They need to be in their communities. (Harnum, B., former Languages Commissioner, Presentation at Public Hearings, 2002, March)*
>
> *There is a big need to teach the language and connect it with culture and spirituality. We have to hire good people and we need elders. It's time to look to elders and have youth talk to elders to learn the language because it is connected to our whole life. It is those people we need to depend on. We need to treat them like professionals, to pay them, and include them in our education system. (Danny Gaudet [paraphrased], in SCOL, 2001 & 2002, Community Meetings, Délı̨ne)*

Two approaches have been taken to increase Aboriginal language use in the classroom. The first has been to fund Aboriginal language literacy courses as a component of Aurora College's Teacher Education Program (TEP), which is mandated to increase the number of Aboriginal teachers in the NWT. The second has been to offer an Aboriginal Language and Cultural Instructor Program (ALCIP). Both programs have been offered on campus in Fort Smith and, more recently, on-site in the Deh Cho, Dogrib, and Beaufort Delta regions. During the period 1998 through 2002, approximately $627 thousand has been allocated to ALCIP training, with approximately 90 participants. Eighteen of these have been full-time, with 15 graduates, representing four language communities. The Beaufort-Delta and Deh Cho Divisional Education Councils have partnered with the College to provide some of this training.

In his report for the Special Committee, Colbourne (2002) speaks to the need for more Aboriginal language instructors as a foundation for the advancement of Aboriginal language education. Training, supporting, and retaining of Aboriginal language instructors, and teachers, is critical to the ongoing development of the NWT education system.

Most jurisdictions employ Aboriginal language instructors to develop and teach programs in their schools. The table below summarizes data received from boards in 2001 on the total numbers of instructors employed.

Sahtu	B. Delta	Dogrib	Deh Cho	S. Slave	YK1	YCS
5	7.5	15	7	6	1	no data

In the 2001 - 2002 school year, 3125 students [in the NWT] were receiving instruction in Aboriginal languages from a total of 41 instructors. While the ratio of students to instructors is 76:1, in many schools the ratio is in excess of 100 students per instructor. In one instance an Aboriginal language instructor has responsibility for 170 students.

Instructors in a given school are often required to teach at all grade levels and develop program and materials as part of their assignment, an enormous task by any standard. Despite the obstacles, these individuals make valuable contributions in maintaining a presence for Aboriginal languages in the schools.

In some areas like the South Slave it is difficult to find anyone qualified to teach an Aboriginal language. In the words of one respondent "people with the knowledge have no teaching skills, and those with the teaching skills no longer speak the language". The results are predictable. Students are not motivated to participate in the classes because they are not interesting and because they are not important for graduation.

Departmental documents identify capacity building through the training of Aboriginal teachers and Aboriginal language specialists as a major priority (GNWT 2001).... The development of a teacher workforce that is representative of the population has been a goal of successive teacher education strategies in the NWT since 1993. In terms of total population this would indicate a need for 47% Aboriginal teachers. In 1996-97 of the 619 teachers in NWT classrooms 110 or 18% were of Aboriginal origin (GNWT 1996). These figures include language specialists, diploma, and degree teachers.

In 2000-2001 the number of Aboriginal teachers had declined to 104, representing 16% of the total 665 teaching staff.... In light of current levels of public funding in Aurora College teacher education programs the statistics raise serious questions in terms of approach and effectiveness.

> *Over a ten year span from 1992 to 2002 the college moved from a purely campus-based approach to training, to community based, and now to regional campus-based delivery. Community teacher education programs (CTEP) had been very effective as a short-term strategy to increase the number of Aboriginal teachers in communities like Rae-Edzo. The strategy was abandoned, however, because there were not enough potential students in any one community to continue the CTEP model (GNWT 2002). The college is currently offering teacher training at its campuses in Yellowknife, Inuvik and Fort Smith. Given historical and current graduation rates of teacher education programs, it is unlikely that one strategy alone will fill the need that exists in the education system. (pp. 33-34)*

Professional Development Training

The Task Force on Aboriginal Languages (1986) recommended that "aside from designated bilingual positions, all permanent government employees be encouraged to voluntarily learn the aboriginal languages" (p. 47). The first Languages Commissioner's report (Office of the Languages Commissioner of the NWT, 1993) recommended that "The GNWT should gather materials available for adult literacy and fluency training in all Official Languages ..." and that "More courses should be developed for people who want to learn other Official Languages" (p. 85). Over the past decade, ECE has funded three programs that have resulted in Aboriginal language instruction for adults (along with a variety of other activities):

- The Aboriginal Language Literacy Program
- The Language Enhancement Contribution Program (discontinued in 1999, funding now provided to the language communities)
- Aurora College adult language courses.

No recent evaluation of the results of these programs has been carried out.

Over the past three years, some Aboriginal language communities, including the Inuvialuit, South Slavey, Cree, and Chipewyan have used portions of their Aboriginal Language Community funding to delivery adult fluency and literacy courses and workshops. Again, little information is available regarding the overall impact of these workshops, although the continued provision of this type of training is considered a key component of language revitalization. As well, the Gwich'in have established the Gwich'in Language Enhancement Training fund for language professionals and other interested parties.

Language Promotion

Stakeholder Comments Regarding Language Promotion

> *When you come to Yellowknife, you see KFC, you see all types of English signs. This reflects the kind of society that exists here, but if you were to have a law that insisted that all the signs in the Northwest Territories [be] aboriginal sign[s], then that would be significant. That would be interesting. That would say a great deal about our society that we have. (Honourable Nick Sibbeston, Senator, Presentation at Public Hearings, 2002, March)*

> *Members of the Legislative Assembly, Aboriginal political leaders and others need to act as role models and exercise their right to actively use their first language in the Legislative Assembly, at leadership meetings and in the communities of the NWT.... Viewing Aboriginal languages as living languages that have inherent use and value in modern society is critical to their preservation. Establishing and promoting a meaningful context for continued use of traditional languages in a society increasingly dominated by English is a fundamental challenge for Aboriginal people. With time, resources and a comprehensive, coordinated effort it is possible in the NWT to re-establish Aboriginal languages as working languages in many aspects of people's lives. Doing this, however, is only partially dependent on legislation and policy; it is primarily dependent on the value each person, each family, each language community and each culture places on its own language. Preservation and revitalization in the NWT will be most successful through a commitment on the part of the government to fully support such action. (NWT Literacy Council, Katherine Peterson, President, Presentation at Public Hearings, 2002, March)*

> *The language is dying. We need to get leadership involved.*
> *(Rene Arey, in SCOL, 2001 & 2002, Community Meetings, Inuvik)*

Language promotion is considered to be an essential, but largely untested, component of language revitalization activities. It is particularly important among youth throughout the world in the face of immense pressure from the English language. Promotion includes overcoming negative attitudes toward a language, encouraging cross-cultural understanding, modernizing the language and making the language more visible by role-modeling and using it in all socio-economic areas of life. Each of the Languages Commissioners have seen promotion as one of their primary functions. Promoting the value of the NWT's official Aboriginal languages is one of the four main actions in ECE's (2001d) Aboriginal languages strategy. In the strategy, ECE commits to developing an official languages promotion plan with the official language communities, but this plan has not yet been developed.

However, the Department has been involved in a number of language promotion activities:

- Community Language Leader Awards are presented annually to deserving citizens
- Buttons promoting each official language have been sent to all NWT schools and communities
- Poster campaigns have been done to promote the value of all official languages
- Alphabet charts were produced for all Aboriginal languages
- Activities are held in schools to recognize Aboriginal Languages Month and French Week.

In order to promote the Aboriginal languages further and encourage cross-cultural understanding, ECE utilizes two main programs: the Cultural Enhancement Contribution Program (now called Cultural Projects) and the Language Enhancement Contribution Program (discontinued in 1999 when funding was provided to the language communities). A common type of activity funded through these programs is on-the-land cultural/language camps for children and youth, with elder involvement. These camps are generally intended to increase appreciation for the language and culture, thereby motivating youth to learn more about both. In most instances, these projects are short-term, intermittent and costly, minimizing their impact and limiting their promotional utility.

Aboriginal language communities have dedicated portions of their Aboriginal Language Community funding to language promotion activities, for example:

- A major Community Mobilization Project in the Deh Cho, aimed at encouraging communities to take ownership of preserving, revitalizing and enhancing the South Slavey language
- Community meetings in the Gwich'in region to identify ways to promote languages — ideas included storytelling and language contests
- The production of a booklet and CD of Chipewyan hymns and prayers; production of a Chipewyan calendar; and the Chipewyan renaming of all of the streets in Fort Resolution, along with the manufacturing and posting of new street signs.

Other activities have included language gatherings; on-the-land language/cultural immersion camps; and the preparation of marketing items such as tee-shirts, mugs, etc., with language slogans.

Non-government organizations such as the NWT Literacy Council have also incorporated Aboriginal languages in their broad promotional activities, such as the NWT Writing Contest and Literacy Week activities. News/North has held a weekly word contest, utilizing all of the official Aboriginal languages and French, and a few NWT businesses have incorporated Aboriginal languages into their business names, brochures, safety documents, and product lines.

Although a wide range of promotional activities helps to raise the visibility and acceptance of the languages, these activities are not coordinated nor have evaluations been conducted to determine which strategies are most effective. If promotional activities were to be coordinated, a Language Commission or Board made up of language community representatives might play a key role along with the respective language communities.

Media and Technology

The Aboriginal Language Broadcasters program has been successfully operating for a number of years and provides funds to support Aboriginal language radio and television broadcasting. Significantly, the majority of this funding has been provided to two Aboriginal-owned media outlets — the Native Communications Society (NCS) and the Inuvialuit Communications Society (ICS). Providing funding to media outlets operated by language communities is an essential element of effective language revitalization. With this funding, NCS radio (CKLB) broadcasts daily in Slavey, Dogrib, Chipewyan and Gwich'in while NCS-TV produces a weekly Dene language news show along with short Dene language interviews with elders. Both of these productions air on the Aboriginal People's Television Network (APTN). ICS produces *Tamapta*, a weekly, half-hour Inuvialuit-language show focusing on Inuvialuit lifestyle and culture. It also produces *Suagaan*, aimed at fostering the Inuvialuit business community. A number of locally-operated community radio stations provide Aboriginal language news and information, along with the CBC North, which has daily Aboriginal language programming.

No Aboriginal language newspapers or magazines are currently produced in the NWT, but the Dene Cultural Institute and the NWT Literacy Council have published a few Dene languages children's and adult books. The Aboriginal language communities use their own funding to develop language publications as well, such as the Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute's (2001) *Gwichya Gwich'in Googwandak: The History and Stories of the Gwichya Gwich'in*, the first in a series of land based and community history books. The Dogrib are currently translating the *New Testament*. These books are aimed at the general public rather than solely for school use. The production of written materials may be hampered by low Dene language literacy levels.

The Dogrib have produced a video series in the Dogrib language entitled *How to ... (skin a rabbit, make bone fat, tan moose hide, prepare ducks*, etc.). In other language communities, video is being used to document the language and stories of elders.

In the late 1980s, the GNWT Language Bureau supported the development a Dene font system for the MacIntosh operating system, which was also used by the College and schools. Developed in the mid-1990s by an individual, a Dene font program is now available for the Windows operating system. Very few government agencies have the Dene font system loaded on their computers, making it very difficult to utilize Dene text in any documents prepared by or supplied to the GNWT.

With the incorporation of traditional place names onto GIS mapping systems and other applications, further software development has been taking place at the community and regional levels to accommodate Dene fonts. For example, in Łútsëlk'e, the Land and Wildlife Committee staff had to integrate the Dene fonts into ArcView, a common mapping program (Brenda Parlee, personal communication with SCOL report writer, P. Redvers, May, 2001). The Chipewyan have begun to use CD ROM technology for recording songs and preparing interactive instructional materials. Again, no agency has taken on responsibility for facilitating or coordinating the integration of Dene language text into computer software applications or other technology.

Syllabic fonts are available for the Inuvialuit and Inuinnaqtun languages, although Roman orthography is more commonly used in the NWT.

Education

Effective Aboriginal language programming in the NWT's schools has been an ongoing and major source of concern of many people. Of the issues raised at the Special Committee's community meetings, Aboriginal language schooling was discussed most often. This section begins with a few stakeholder comments and then presents excerpts from the document *Aboriginal Languages in the Education System* (Colbourne, 2002), with supplementary comments as required.

Stakeholder Comments Regarding Education

> *I met a woman whose father died and mother died a couple of months ago. She went to [Fort] Providence for residential school. When they spoke their language they were put in a small room — they were isolated. There should be an apology for losing their language, or some kind of recognition. It has had an impact on people. Maybe it will speed up the process of their healing if you recognize this loss. (Elizabeth Hardisty [paraphrased], in SCOL, 2001 & 2002, Community Meetings, Fort Simpson)*

> *You have to have more responsible actions. There should be clear rules and guidelines. That's why I think there should be a board not just to teach the language but also teachers and interpreters … you need to have education for language, proper curriculum, trained teachers, certain standards, then you'll get the most benefit out of the program. (Charlie Barnaby [paraphrased], in SCOL Community Meetings, Fort Good Hope, May 13, 2002)*

> *One of the things we wanted to implement was two immersion programs. Right now, we had put in a proposal, which was one of the reasons why we sat down last month, was to take a look at the proposal. We felt that the initial proposal we had was not realistic, that we needed to take a look at what we need to do, what kind of program. When we are doing a program, there has to be some development stages to it. The other thing is who is going to do this immersion program? Do we have qualified people to do that or do they need to be trained? Those are some of the things we took a look at. (Deh Cho First Nations, Gerald Antoine, Presentation at Public Hearings, 2002, March)*

A few years ago, some teenagers wanted to learn Inuinnaqtun but there was no teacher. So nobody bothered. But I hope somebody soon will teach them. They really want to learn. (Morris Nalluk, in SCOL Community Meeting, Holman, February 5, 2002)

There needs to be some education. The people need to know that children, when they are young, can learn one, two, three or four different languages. They can, by osmosis, readily learn so many languages. The more languages that they are familiar with, the better able they are to continue their studies and learning in later years. "…we could call it a grandpa or granny program to teach your children the aboriginal language." (Honourable Nick Sibbeston, Senator, Presentation at Public Hearings, 2002, March)

[The barriers to achieving good language programs in the schools include]:

- *Low Teacher Education Program enrolment*
- *High turnover of teachers and administrators*
- *Limited support and professional development opportunities for Aboriginal language instructors*
- *Lack of coordination of Aboriginal resource development and planning*
- *Limited human resources*
- *No formal Language Arts curricula for Aboriginal languages. (SCOL 2002c, Questionnaire to ECE, p. 15)*

Evaluation of Aboriginal Languages in the Education System

As noted earlier, the Special Committee commissioned Eric Colbourne to prepare a report on Aboriginal language in education. Colbourne's report (2002) provides an overview of the evolution of the system, an assessment of key elements necessary to effective Aboriginal language program delivery, and recommendations for improving the system. Two of the necessary elements, language financing and instructor training, were addressed in earlier sections of this chapter. The remaining key elements — early childhood programming, curriculum development, the role of teaching and learning centres (TLCs), and Aboriginal language instruction — along with Colbourne's conclusion, are presented in this section, again using excerpts from his report. The Special Committee accepts Colbourne's work and generally agrees with his final conclusion.

> Early Childhood [pp. 26-27]: *Early childhood has been a focus of the Department of Education, Culture and Employment since 1997 when it launched the Healthy Children Initiative (HCI) in partnership with the Department of Health and Social Services (HSS). Programs falling under this policy initiative were to be culture-based. The principles of interagency collaboration, family centredness, and community ownership were to guide delivery of programs and services. A number of successful community programs have emerged as a result of this initiative and informants speak highly of programs in Fort Providence and Rae-Edzo where strong local leadership has been a major factor. Departmental research indicates that in terms of overall health and preparedness these community initiatives are having a positive impact on children entering the school system (GNWT, 2001).*
>
> *The policy initiative as currently configured faces major challenges in its implementation and informants list program continuity, content and focus as major issues in most communities. As originally designed the HCI was to have as a foundation "Cultural considerations including values, beliefs, traditional knowledge and skills, language and spirituality" (GNWT 1996). Current program documents use the terminology "culturally relevant", a concept which may or may not include a linguistic dimension. No early childhood programs with strong Aboriginal language components currently exist.*
>
> *The [Early Childhood Development]Framework for Action (GNWT 2001) illustrates the problems of policy implementation in a highly decentralized political environment such as the NWT. Two departments of government, ECE and HSS, are the major partners in the formulation and implementation of the*

policy. Each department pursues disparate strategies towards goal attainment with HSS having a focus on health promotion, prevention and intervention. ECE's focus, however, is on quality childcare programs, parenting, and literacy. It appears that both departments engage in instant policy making, adding additional complex dimensions to the policy initiative as time goes by. The addition of the "Language Nest" concept, for example, while a promising direction in itself, has major implications in terms of resource allocation, staffing and curriculum.

At the community level, separate sources of funding and varying program criteria present considerable obstacles to program planning and development.

To complicate the picture, other major players such as the federal government have an array of programs in the early childhood area.... Headstart, the Community Action Program for Children, and Pre-Natal Nutrition.... Program managers at the Department level cite the energies devoted to coordination as a major distraction to successful policy implementation. At the community level, separate sources of funding and varying program criteria present considerable obstacles to program planning and development.

Quality early childhood programs are dependent on a number of criteria including parent involvement, space, child-caregiver ratios, staffing, and curriculum. Yeates (et. al., 1990) identifies staff training and development as the most critical factor in the mix. In communities where programs are led by well trained, caring individuals they are successful. Conversely in communities where trained individuals are not available the skills deficit is evident in a lack of program continuity and poor program design.

The Framework for Action is based on an imposing set of legislation and guidelines. No less than five separate pieces of legislation and nine sets of regulations and *guidelines govern programs and services. Additional complex regulations and guidelines have to be followed in order for communities to access federal programs. Inherent in these complexities are the opportunities for poor communication, misunderstanding of goals, and unrealistic action plans.*

Curriculum Development [p. 12 and pp. 28-30] : Early in the decade the department began to make a distinction between its focus on "curriculum" design, and the divisional/community focus on program and materials development in support of the curriculum. For the previous two decades the total curriculum package had been designed at the departmental level with little input from teachers and others in the field. Resulting curricula such as the NWT Elementary Social Studies released in 1984 were never successfully implemented at the classroom level. Curriculum was now viewed as a framework which outlined philosophy, goals, objectives, learner outcomes and evaluation strategies. Each curriculum area would have varying levels of detail. With the development of the [Teaching and] Learning Centres within each linguistic area, there was, in theory if not in practice, the infrastructure for the fleshing out of the curriculum to ensure its relevance to the children in the classroom. It is this fleshing out process of program/materials development along with in-service training that are the most critical components of success for curriculum implementation.... [p. 12]

... Considerable effort and resources were invested in curriculum development through the Dene Kede (1993) and Inuuqatigiit (1997) initiatives. These curricula were intended as blueprints around which programs could be designed and delivered at school and classroom levels. Structurally, these curricula were not unlike curricula in other areas. Educational goals were clearly defined and content was outlined through which these goals could be attained. The content was organized in terms of curriculum continuity, sequence, and integration. Student outcomes in terms of knowledge, skills and attitudes were defined. Aboriginal language development was the central purpose of the curriculum. In addressing the question of why teach Dene Kede, the developers indicate that "The Dene Languages provide access to much of how the Dene understand their spirituality, their land, their relationships with one another and themselves. Learning the language is therefore a necessary tool for true Dene education" (Teacher Resource Manual: Dene Kede, p. 6).

The launching and successful implementation of a new curriculum is a complex process requiring careful planning, dedicated human and financial resources, careful monitoring and evaluation and a concerted and cooperative effort by the major stakeholders. Support documents for Dene Kede and Inuuqatigiit identify the critical roles of the department, divisional education councils, district education authorities, teaching and learning centres, and schools. These roles are summarized in the table below.

DEPT. OF ECE	DEC/DEA	TLC	SCHOOLS
• Develop overall implementation strategy • Allocate implementation resources • Provide professional support services • Monitor and evaluate • Promote	• Develop detailed implementation plans • Develop support policies • Provide financial and human resources • Promote curriculum	• Provide in-service training • Develop programs • Develop relevant resources • Consult with schools	• Form school leadership team for implementation • Develop long range plans • Develop thematic units and lesson plans • Integrate with other areas of the curriculum • Evaluate

Research indicates that there has been significant effort on the part of education authorities and individual schools towards implementation. These efforts are more pronounced in areas such as the Dehcho and the Dogrib. In other jurisdictions implementation activity has been minimal and sporadic. The department does not have an overall implementation plan nor has it been able to dedicate human and financial resources for this purpose. The absence of these resources creates the perception on the part of boards, schools and parents that Aboriginal language programs are unimportant. Without strong leadership from the Department of Education, Culture and Employment the other stakeholder efforts are severely impeded. [pp. 28-30]

Teaching and Learning Centres (TLCs) [p. 30-32]: Because of their role in Aboriginal language program delivery, the TLC's are deserving of a more in-depth study than is possible within the current framework. Their original mandate was the preservation and enhancement of Aboriginal languages and culture through the promotion of literacy and the integration of local language and culture in school programs. Their primary goal was to support the implementation of culture-based education by producing books and other materials and by supporting teachers (GNWT 1999). Subsequent policy documents

It's Springtime at Bompas

Students at Bompas Elementary School in Fort Simpson before community meeting, May 2002.

(GNWT 2001) reaffirm this role. TLC's in all jurisdictions have focused their efforts in a number of key areas:

- *Research and Development — e.g. The development of Aboriginal language dictionaries, collection and recording of data using audio/visual technology*
- *Development of children's literature and classroom teaching materials - all TLC's have extensive collections of locally developed children's stories and teaching units*
- *Course development - eg. the Dogrib TLC has developed 26 separate credit courses at the secondary level in the past ten years; the Dehcho TLC has developed literacy courses for adults*
- *Workshops for teachers and other professionals in areas such as terminology development*
- *Direct support to teachers - e.g. Implementation workshops on Dene Kede curriculum.*

In terms of productivity, some TLC's have fared better than others. Those in the Dogrib, Gwitch'in, Sahtu and Dehcho areas have enjoyed relative staff stability over the past decade as well as continuing support at the senior management and political level. The Inuvialuktun Centre has suffered from chronic staffing *issues and a general lack of direction and support. The Chipewyan Centre no longer exists and resources formerly dedicated to its operation are now distributed to each district education authority in the South Slave division.*

TLC's are funded directly by their respective education authority through a combination of Vote 1 (GNWT) funding and Vote 4 (Canada-NWT Cooperation Agreement) funding. Levels of funding have not changed appreciably over the past ten years. The Beaufort-Delta Divisional Board currently allocates $230,000 annually to the operation of the Gwitch'in and Inuvialuktun centres. Both the Dehcho and Dogrib allocate approximately $250,000 annually to their operations. In total, approximately $1million annually in Vote 1 funding is allocated to TLC's along with a further $.5 million in Vote 4 funding.

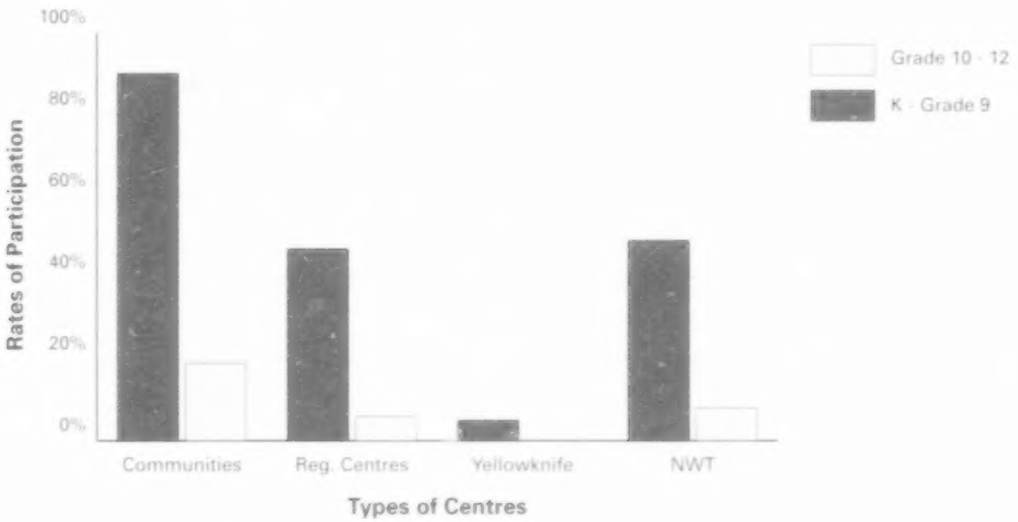
The data indicates that key stakeholders including those at the department level view the TLC's as central to the success of Aboriginal language programs in education. At issue is the fact that literature and learning materials for Aboriginal languages are not commercially available as is the case for English and French language programs. The TLCs are the only available mechanism for this critical development function.

The data indicates that key stakeholders including those at the department level view the TLC's as central to the success of Aboriginal language programs in education

Research also reveals that issues of staff stability, expertise, and training plague their operation with consequent low productivity in some centres. Additional professional support from divisional/district authorities and coordination at a territoriol level are needed immediately if they are to continue to develop and fulfill their original mandate.

Aboriginal Language Instruction [pp. 32-33]: Departmental statistics for year 2001 (GNWT 2002) indicate that 49% of students from kindergarten to grade nine participated in Aboriginal language programs. [Figure 6.9] shows participation rates by population centres across the NWT. The data indicates that where programs are offered, participation rates are high. Participation rates drop dramatically for Yellowknife schools where programs are not generally offered. In regional centres such as Fort Smith and Inuvik, students have access to both French and Aboriginal languages as second language options with about 50% of students participating in one or the other. At the secondary level, access and participation rates in Aboriginal language programs are extremely low. Smaller high schools such as those in Fort Simpson, and Rae-Edzo, offer Aboriginal language programs for high school accreditation.

Figure 6.9: Aboriginal language programs



Conclusion [p. 39]

Research indicates that education systems have a powerful impact on language survival. Properly oriented early childhood and school programs can be instrumental in revitalizing and sustaining aboriginal languages. Current legislation and policy in the NWT enables the development of supportive learning environments for the early childhood and school years. Departmental documents enunciate supportive policies in line with best practice and with the intent of the Education Act. There is a widening gap, however, between the intent of policy makers at the departmental level and the implementation by divisional boards and district education authorities at the local level.

> *The ability of the Department to provide general support systems to education jurisdictions has been negatively affected by budget cutbacks in the mid-1990's and by the division of resources as a consequence of the creation of Nunavut in 1998. This does not, however, fully explain the relatively low degree of implementation effort devoted to Aboriginal language curricula compared with the intense effort devoted to implementation in areas such as English language arts, math and science.*
>
> *In all other curriculum area there is a cyclical process of curriculum development, implementation, evaluation and renewal. Professional services and financial resources are provided to school jurisdictions on a continuous basis for staff development, acquisition of learning materials, and development of relevant evaluation processes. To deny this level of support to Aboriginal languages curricula sends a powerful public message that these curricula are not valued.*
>
> *This dynamic is evidenced at the division and district level by frustration at the lack of quality Aboriginal language programs, and in most jurisdictions by the substantial reallocation of designated funding to other program areas. While the investment in Aboriginal languages programs is only 6% of overall schools contributions, it is nonetheless significant. Unfortunately little data exists which point to positive outcomes resulting from the investment.*

Further to Colbourne's report, the Special Committee notes that although the intent of the Dene Kede and Inuuqatigiit curricula was to have a strong language component, no corresponding language arts curricula were developed by the Department to actively promote, teach, and measure language acquisition. This position is supported by André Bourcier, a linguist who carried out language planning research for the Gwich'in and Inuvialuit language communities:

> *Inuuqatigiit and Dene Kede were developed by the NWT Education, Culture and Employment as generic curriculum for Inuit and Dene respectively. As such they cannot serve as language curricula since the specifics of each language are not treated. They are basic culture curricula which were supposed to serve as canvases in creating specific first or second language programs. Unfortunately this second step was never undertaken. (Bourcier, 1999, Section 4.1.4.2)*

Some of the TLCs have developed language curriculum materials and the Department has recently initiated the development of an Aboriginal language arts curriculum.

Schooling as a Component of Language Revitalization

The language revitalization framework in Chapter 5 identifies criteria that can be used to assess effective indigenous language schooling. Although advances have been made as the system evolves toward meeting these criteria, the current system could be significantly improved by:

- Guaranteeing access to and utilizing a combination of first, second, and bilingual language programming
- Incorporating and supporting a continuum of learning, from pre-school through to post-secondary levels
- Developing effective language curricula and the resources to support those curricula
- Doing a more effective job of training, certifying, and providing employment for Aboriginal language teachers and instructors
- Ensuring that adequate base funding is provided, and is utilized, for Aboriginal language education.

When asked about the changes that would be required to provide greater support for Aboriginal language instruction in the schools, ECE provided the following response:

> *Mandate a minimum number of hours instruction in Official Languages.... Such programs will require the development of Language Arts curriculum and supporting resources for the teachers and students. Also teacher education programs at Aurora College will need to be enhanced in order to deal with the influx of student teachers requiring training. Finally, a recruitment campaign would be required to find interested students and teachers. In the early years such a program would be limited by the availability of qualified teachers and resources. (SCOL 2002c, questionnaire to ECE, p. 2)*

The Special Committee has presented and discussed a range of educational options in Chapter 7 and has made specific recommendations relating to Aboriginal language education in Chapter 8.

French Language Programming

Objective 3 of the French language action plan in the current Canada-NWT Cooperation Agreement is "To support the community and cultural development of the Francophone community" (ECE, 2001a, p. 47). In order to meet this objective, ECE's Official Languages Coordinator for French sits on a committee established by the Fédération Franco-TéNOise (FFT) that makes decisions on the allocation of project funds to community-based francophone organizations. The committee includes a Canadian Heritage representative and volunteers from the francophone community. Examples of the types of activities recently funded are as follows.

- The Association franco-culturelle de Hay River hosted a summer French language immersion camp for children along with social gatherings and performances by francophone musicians and artists.
- The Association des francophones de Fort Smith sponsored a youth summer camp and organized social and cultural activities.
- The Association franco-culturelle de Yellowknife supported language promotion, a French language writing contest (Dictée des Amériques), amateur theatre productions, French language film presentations, and performances by musicians and comedy teams. A recent successes was the establishment of Radio Taiga, a community radio station.
- The Association des parents francophones de Yellowknife promotes French language school programming. It also organizes family events, with a particular focus on raising youth awareness of French language and culture.
- The Garderie Plein Soleil provides French language pre-school programming, with a focus on 4 year old children. It also functions as a resource centre for young families and offers a summer day camp to 5 to 8 year olds.
- L'Aquilon, the only French language newspaper in the NWT, reports important information that may have an impact on the francophone community. The GNWT and other agencies can advertise in it to reach the francophone community.

Radio Taiga, which provides French language radio programming in Yellowknife, is also supported through federal and territorial funding.

Official Languages Services Delivery

For Aboriginal communities, the issues of Aboriginal language schooling and community-based language revitalization are of greatest concern; service delivery, although important, appears to be a lesser priority, particularly where resources are limited. For the francophone community, however, service delivery is a fundamental issue. The proposed language revitalization framework identifies service delivery as an essential component of any language strategy. Effective language revitalization assumes that speakers can access direct services in their own language, particularly within their language territory, or have access to interpreters as required, even if they are bilingual. For this to happen, service providers fluent in the local language or languages are available. Where required, language training for staff must be provided.

To provide updated and new insight to the discussion of service delivery, the Special Committee reviewed current service delivery data; prepared, distributed, and analyzed a service delivery questionnaire within GNWT departments and agencies; and contracted a consultant to facilitate focus group meetings with departmental Languages Coordinators. The information gathered is summarized below, following representative stakeholder comments.

Stakeholder Comments Regarding Official Languages Service Delivery

From a sample of 50 service points assessed on February 11, 1999, 58 percent of requests had to be made in English. 75 percent of the products were not available in French, and 98 percent of the offices did not actively offer their services in French.

These are our recommendations for sections 9 through 16:

- *Language use in the Assembly — maintain permanent interpreter/translator staff for all official languages*
- *Printed government documents to ensure high-profile documents are printed in all official languages: acts, birth certificates, drivers' licenses, health cards and court proceedings*
- *Public government services — no restrictions on showing significant demand or nature of the office*
- *Language rights in court — no restrictions on the use of aboriginal languages.*

Canada will permanently bear on an annual basis all costs relating to the provision of services to the public in French as well as the costs relating to the use of French as an official language of the Northwest Territories as required by the Official Languages Act. (Fédération Franco-TéNOise, Fernand Denault, President, Presentation at Public Hearings, 2002, March)

I think having a one-stop service that would be able to provide all documentation, all services in French right away, without having to carry out exhaustive, detailed research.... I was hired as a coordinator to see to the implementation of the services. I know the community wants to have this kind of one-stop shopping. We will have to negotiate a one-stop shop with the government. (Michel Lefebvre, Association Franco-Culturelle de Yellowknife, Committee Coordinator, Presentation at Public Hearings, 2002, March)

For English speaking listeners, what I said was I had asked to have interpreting services available for my presentation, which I was planning to do in Chipewyan. The fact that they are not able to provide it causes me some concern and I would like that noted for the record. I think it is very significant. I guess that says a lot more than what I am going to say.... Active offer is something that is also defined in the policy but it is not promoted and it is not

> *implemented. The fact that people have a right to demand services in their language is not something that is even encouraged, never mind people being made aware of it. (Akaitcho Territory Government, Sabet Biscaye, Chipewyan Language Coordinator, Presentation at Public Hearings, 2002, March)*

> *... the availability of services in aboriginal language[s], or at least the hypothetical availability of services in the official languages, is not well-known. It is not well advertised and it is not well supported, in our view.... There has to be some improvement in making the public aware that this is a right, and a legal right under the Official Languages Act. (NWT Literacy Council, Katherine Peterson, President, Presentation at Public Hearings, 2002, March)*

> *In terms of communications with and services to the public, it is important that the* Act *spell out the right to receive services in English and French and the fact that such services must be offered actively in both languages by means of appropriate greetings and signage. This matter is covered in guidelines, but these have not been widely observed. The inclusion of this principle in the text of the revised act would give it greater weight and prominence and would actively assist the interpretation of related obligations in the regulations or guidelines. (Official Languages Commissioner of Canada, Dr. Dyane Adam, Video Presentotion Presentation at Public Hearings, 2002, March)*

Evaluation of Official Languages Service Delivery

For this report, the Special Committee used three main service delivery indicators: bilingual capacity within the GNWT, departmental data and information regarding official languages service delivery, and a description of the types of services provided by different departments.

Bilingual Capacity within the GNWT

The GNWT has effected bilingual bonuses and language allowances as a method of establishing bilingual capacity within departments. A review of bilingual bonus data, therefore, gives some indication of the extent of this investment.

The bilingual bonus started April 1, 1989 as part of the Union of Northern Workers (UNW) Collective Agreement. A corresponding language allowance was in effect in the NWT Teachers' Association Collective Agreement at least as far back as 1981. Over the past 10 years, the Financial Management Board has not done an evaluation of the use or impact of the bilingual bonus/language allowance system.

Section 24.14 of the *Collective Agreement between the Union of Northern Workers and the Minister Responsible for the Public Service*, July 2002, states that "Employees, other than employees assigned duties of translation and interpretation in their job descriptions, who are required by the Employer to use two or more of the official languages of the Northwest Territories shall receive a bilingual bonus of $1200 per annum." The GNWT Human Resource Manual, Section 1208 states that "the Employer pays a bilingual bonus to employees who use more than one of the official languages of the NWT in their job. In order to receive a bonus an employee must be in a position designated eligible for a bilingual bonus" (GNWT, 2002b). This designation is to be contained in the job description for the position and can either be 'bilingual required' or 'bilingual preferred'. To be designated, positions must meet the following standards:

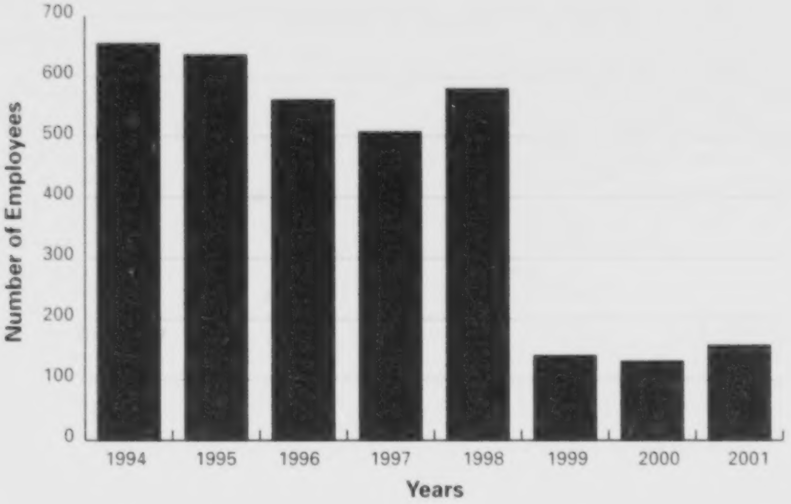
- More than one language is needed to provide an adequate service
- The languages used are determined by the community or region in which services are provided.

The GNWT does not currently track the number of bilingual preferred and bilingual required positions, but does note that "There are actually no bilingual positions within the GNWT" (ECE, 2001a, p. 32).

With respect to the language allowance, the current NWT Teachers' Association Collective Agreement (Section A4.04) states that teachers who demonstrate proficiency in and use a second language for work purposes receive a $4000 allowance (GNWT, 2001).

In 2001, approximately 4% of GNWT employees received either a bilingual bonus or language allowance. This included approximately 31 teachers, 24 Aboriginal language specialists, and 102 UNW employees, out of a total workforce of approximately 3700 employees. Data is not gathered on these bonuses/allowances by language. Of the 102 UNW bonuses, approximately 40 bilingual bonuses were for French, paid under the Cooperation Agreement, indicating that the remaining 62 bonuses are likely for the Aboriginal languages. Figure 6.10 indicates the number of employees receiving bilingual bonuses or language allowances over the past few years. The large drop in numbers in 1999 reflects creation of Nunavut, which had a higher percentage of people receiving bonuses. In 2001, the GNWT spend $328 thousand on bilingual bonuses/language allowances, of which $122 thousand were for bilingual bonuses.

Figure 6.10 Number of GNWT employees receiving bilingual bonuses or language allowances, 1994-2001 (Source: SCOL)



At the present time, the government is not designating positions as bilingual required, is not tracking whether those individuals receiving bilingual bonuses or language allowances are actually using their bilingual skills in service delivery, and is not ensuring that the level of bilingual service being offered within communities and regions is consistent with the number of official language speakers within that area. This situation needs to be reviewed because the effective use of bilingual staff can significantly enhance official language service delivery.

Official Languages Services Data/Information

Gathering reliable data on service delivery was very difficult for the Committee. In fact, official languages services questionnaires and focus group sessions indicate that the majority of departments do not have procedures for the delivery of official languages services and that service delivery is not systematically monitored. Respondents to the SCOL questionnaire noted that:

- There was little or no public demand for official languages services because the majority of clients speak English*
- There were difficulties with translation into the Aboriginal languages (of the departments surveyed, 21% had initiated terminology work)
- Policies and procedures relating to languages issues should be developed
- Single point access to official languages services are required
- Essential and emergency language services have not been clearly identified. (Terriplan Consultants, 2002a, p. 3)

Several key themes emerged from the focus groups sessions held with the 13 Languages Coordinators:

- The majority of funding, activity and support is directed to the provision of French language services, not Aboriginal languages, which is a concern to the extent that a large portion of the NWT's population is Aboriginal
- Overall, the provision of official languages services is a fairly low priority within the GNWT, reflecting, in part, the perceived low demand for these services*
- There is lack of full clarity, both within departments and with languages coordinators, as to what the intent of the guidelines and policy is. Moreover, the lack of clearly defined roles and responsibilities in coordinator job descriptions contributes to a lack of accountability and focus
- Decentralization of official languages services has increased the administrative burden on departments, for perceived little or no benefit. In contrast, a "single access, single coordinator" approach would significantly improve access to, and coordination of, official languages services
- Availability and quality of translator/interpreter services remains a concern. A website dedicated to these type of services would be beneficial to reducing departmental administration of the guidelines and policy
- The GNWT needs to provide further clarity in the area of needs versus wants, in the context of cost-effectively meeting the intent of the *Official Languages Act*. Until such clarification is provided, intent and cost will remain a point of debate.
  (Terriplan Consultants, 2002b, p.11)

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*Note: Some participants in the focus group posed the following question: is demand for services low because demand is, or because the perception that there are no services (so why bother asking?) [p. 5]

Examples of Current Service Delivery Activities

GNWT departments and agencies currently deliver a range of official languages services. Examples of these are presented below.

- The Legislative Assembly allocates approximately $170 thousand per year of Vote 1 funding for Aboriginal language services and $20 thousand for French services. In 2001/2002, approximately $43 thousand was actually spent. The Assembly offers two types of services: services to members and services to the public.
    - ✓ Members are entitled to use any official language in the Assembly. However, over the past decade, only Inuktitut was designated as an essential language within the Legislative Assembly. Members who speak other languages have agreed to a rotational schedule for simultaneous interpretation. All Bills and Order Papers are printed and published in English and French. Translation of other requested documents is contracted out on an as-needed basis.
    - ✓ Sound recordings of public debates are provided to any member of the public on reasonable request; however, few requests are made. Key public information material is produced in all official languages and newspaper advertisements are routinely translated into French. Building signage is multi-lingual. As well, some of the sessions are rebroadcast on Aboriginal People's Television Network (APTN) in French and the Aboriginal languages.
- The Department of Justice provides two primary types of services: translation of Bills and other legal documents and provision of official languages services in court proceedings. All Acts and Regulations are translated into French. For court services, simultaneous interpretation is provided where required during court proceedings, as per Section 12 of the *OLA*, and decisions, orders, and judgements are translated or made into sound recordings where required by Section 13 of the *Act*.

The Department has maintained a record on the demand and cost for interpreters, as illustrated in Figures 6.11 and 6.12.

Figure 6.11. Demand for court interpreters, 1998-2001 (Source: GNWT Justice)

REGIONS:		Chipewyan	Cree	Dogrib	French	Gwich'in	Inuktitut	Inuvialuktun	Innuinnaqtun	North Slavey	South Slavey	Sign Language	Other Langages
Yellowknife	1998-1999	4		17		1	74	0	12	6	2		Arabic: 0+1+0 Chinese/ Cantonese: 5+2+1 Philippine/ Tagalog: 0+0+1 Russian: 0+1+0 Vietnamese 1+1+1
	1999-2000	7		27		0	3	0	1	4	1		
	2000-2001	0		31		0	2	2	2	2	9		
Hay River	1998-1999	2		0							9		
	1999-2000	0		1							9		
	2000-2001	1		0							11		
Inuvik	1998-1999							0		13			
	1999-2000							2		14			
	2000-2001							4		8			
TOTAL OVER 3 YEARS:		14	0	76	0	1	79	8	15	47	41		14
AVERAGE PER YEAR:		5	0	25	0	1	26	3	5	16	14		5

Figure 6.12. Cost for court interpreter services, 1998-2002 (Source: GNWT Justice)

REGIONS:	1998-1999	1999-2000	2000-2001	2001-2002 (deleted)
Hay River	3,850.	3,500.	4,320.	80.
Inuvik	3,785.	2,138.	3,660.	1,500.
Yellowknife	52,469.	28,751.	22,216.	17,277.
Total Annual Cost:	**$ 60,104.**	**$ 34,389.**	**$ 30,196.**	**$ 18,857.**

Court Services provided the Special Committee with the following information and comments:

- The numbers for Inuktitut have decreased dramatically since division of the two territories
- Prior to division, overall demand had increased by 11%
- The Coroner also uses interpreters: four in 1999-2000 and 10 in 1998-1999
- Cantonese, alone, has an average of three requests per year, which is more requests than four of our official languages

Court Services can provide French language services but the demand for Territorial Courts is nil while the demand for Federal Court is occasional Court Services has difficulty finding Aboriginal language interpreters, possibly because:

  - ✓ Work is demanding and difficult with specialized concepts and terms, accuracy is vital
  - ✓ Some interpreters do not want to get involved in a community conflict
  - ✓ Work is not steady; one can not plan in advance and sometimes court is cancelled

- Court Services used to have 2 or 3 interpreter/translators (I/Ts) on staff but these positions were cut during restraint measures, with responsibility transferred to ECE
- Specialized training and terminology work has been done for Court Services
- Court Services is currently reviewing the amount paid to I/Ts (it is regulated) and wants to increase this amount in order to attract I/Ts. (Mackay, B., email communication with SCOL, September 10, 2001)

As noted in an earlier section, implementing the *Jury Act's* provision for unilingual jurors is a problem due to a lack of qualified interpreters.

- The Department of Health and Social Services (HSS) has been actively involved in the development of medical terminology, although primary responsibility for official language service delivery generally falls to the regional health authorities. The Department is currently developing a training program for Language Support Workers to assist Speech Pathologists and is purchasing hearing impairment equipment to assist with first language acquisition during early childhood. The source of the funding for these two recent initiatives is from the Early Childhood Development Framework for Action Plan. The outcome of the program in supporting French or Aboriginal language acquisition will be measured by improved speech and language rehabilitation therapy.

SCOL obtained the following information about regional HSS official language services:

- Hay River Community Health Board paid out approximately $7 thousand in bilingual bonuses in 2000-2001, encompassing 8 positions. This includes 4 for French and 4 for the Aboriginal languages.
- Fort Smith Health and Social Services Board utilized Vote 4 (federal) funding for a full-time French interpreter/coordinator position.
- Dogrib Community Services Board relies primarily on Dogrib staff to provide language services. Translation into other official languages is not formally available.
- Deh Cho Health and Social Services Board appears to have designated 7.5 positions as bilingual required and another 11 staff receive bilingual bonuses under the bilingual preferred designation.
- Stanton Regional Health Board appears to have developed the most systematic approach to official language service delivery. It has an Education and Languages Services department, headed by a Manager, that is involved in annual business and strategic planning and monitoring activities. The Board Monitoring Report includes language services. The Board has a database where all interpreter appointments are recorded and includes language service questions on its Client Satisfaction Survey.
- Stanton employs 2 full-time Aboriginal interpreters (Dogrib and South Slavey) and has 8 casual interpreters available, encompassing all of the official languages. Stanton also has 11 front-line staff receiving bilingual bonuses for French. Interpreter services are available 7 days a week, 24 hours a day, but delays may occur while casual interpreters are contacted.

Summary Evaluation of Official Language Services

Despite the Official Languages Policy and Guidelines, very few departments appear to be making an active effort to provide official language services other than English and many fall far short of effective language revitalization practices. In order to begin meeting the standards proposed in the revitalization framework, the government must significantly increase its capacity to offer bilingual services within those areas or territories that have official language designations, regardless of whether the clients themselves are bilingual. Clients have the right under the *OLA* to request services in an official language other than English, as defined in the *Act* and Guidelines, and the capacity to deliver these services must be in place. Options for improving official languages service delivery are presented and discussed in Chapter 7.

Chapter Summary: Are the provisions of Official Languages Legislation being met and are they effective?

This chapter provided a broad evaluation of the capacity and will of the GNWT to implement the spirit and intent of the *Official Languages Act*. Throughout the chapter, observations and conclusions are made, referenced to key elements of language revitalization theory and practice, along with standard program evaluation practice.

Based on its research and consultations, the Special Committee finds that:

1. The provisions of the *Official Languages Act*, its associated policy and guidelines, and the *Education Act* have not been prescriptive enough to ensure that our official language rights are adequately protected and implemented.
2. The planning, management, and accountability framework for the implementation of the *OLA* and Aboriginal languages in education is weak to non-existent. Although considerable resources are nominally allocated to Aboriginal languages, the planning for expenditures, including setting objectives and targets for desired outputs and outcomes, is limited — and monitoring, reporting, and evaluation is minimal.
3. There is a significant lack of political and management accountability with respect to the implementation of the Act and Aboriginal languages in education, and limited direct and formal involvement of the language communities.
4. Official languages program and service delivery has been uncoordinated and generally inadequate, in spite of some specific project successes.
5. The provision for Aboriginal language schooling has been particularly inadequate.

Based on these broad findings, the Special Committee has presented a language revitalization matrix in Chapter 7 that summarizes the current status of official language legislation, management, and programs/services, and begins to identify a range of options available to remedy the deficiencies. Chapter 8 then presents the Committee's new vision for languages in the NWT with a corresponding implementation plan.

CHAPTER 7

LISTENING CAREFULLY: CONSIDERING OPTIONS FOR LANGUAGE REVITALIZATION IN THE NWT

Introduction and Purpose

The purpose of this chapter is to present the range of options the Special Committee considered to revitalize our official languages. Change must occur if we are to have any chance of overcoming the rapid and serious loss of our indigenous languages and ongoing decline in French language usage. The options presented represent a wholistic approach to language preservation and revitalization and are intended to build on our existing strengths, while acknowledging the inherent resource value of our languages.

A language revitalization matrix is used as a tool to summarize these options, along with estimates of their relative benefit and cost. The matrix format is useful to decision-making, allowing us to mix, match, and balance options from the different categories of change, along with an estimate of comparative benefits and costs. It also allows us to identify priorities, clarify roles and responsibilities among stakeholders, and in some instances, plan for progressive changes (i.e., starting with basic options while planning for more progressive options in future when certain prerequisites are in place). In their entirety, these options represent a continuum from the current situation of language rights and services to one of high public government intervention and regulation.

In developing these options, the Special Committee acknowledges a key difference in the needs of the Aboriginal and French language communities. From a territorial and national perspective, the Aboriginal languages are under greater threat and, at the present time, have less legal protection. Consistent with the Preamble of the *Official Languages Act*, the Committee has focused on the compelling need to preserve, develop, and enhance the use of these languages before they become obsolete, and, conceivably, lost altogether. French, on the other hand, is a viable and strong world language, has clear constitutional protection in Canada, and has strong community infrastructure supporting it within the NWT. The focus for the Committee has been to ensure that francophones can receive a wide and effective range of overnment services in French, while continuing to support community-driven language enhancement initiatives.

This chapter begins with a brief overview of the emerging roles and responsibilities of key official languages stakeholders, reviews the results of the Second Territorial Languages Assembly, then continues with a presentation and discussion of the specific language protection and revitalization options. It concludes with brief set of findings and observations that lead directly to the recommendations presented in Chapter 8.

Identifying Emerging Roles and Responsibilities

The options in this chapter apply primarily to the Legislative Assembly and to GNWT institutions; however, the Special Committee appreciates that these options have implications for all official languages stakeholders. Throughout the review process, the Committee has heard and learned that government can play a key role in language revitalization, but effective revitalization cannot and will not happen without the full involvement, commitment, and leadership of the affected language communities. The Committee, therefore, has carefully considered the potential roles of communities, emerging Aboriginal governments, territorial government institutions and agencies, and the federal government, along with the key role played by individual language activists from all official language groups in the NWT. The options presented must meet the needs and interests of all of these groups, particularly the language communities themselves, if they are to be effective.

Since the early 1990s, ongoing dialogue has identified the need for increased involvement by the official language communities in language protection and revitalization initiatives. This trend resulted in the 1999 establishment of the Aboriginal Languages Communities program, which provides language communities with funding for a wide range of language initiatives, guided by language plans developed under the authority of regional Aboriginal governments. The trend has also resulted in more community-development funding being transferred to the francophone community. However, the federal government continues to play a key role providing funding through the Canada-NWT Cooperation Agreement and the GNWT maintains primary governance and management responsibilities.

The Special Committee believes that this trend toward more language community involvement must be further supported. Cardinal & Hudon (2001) stress the need for a 'horizontal' rather than 'vertical' model of official languages governance in Canada, because "the accountability mechanisms have not functioned well … the roles of government and non-government players have not been well-defined, and … the interaction among them has not been conducive to collective learning" (p. 21). Effective horizontal governance incorporates four main conditions:

- Collective accountability, to ensure that public authority is not misused, resources are efficiently utilized, public values are maintained, and collective learning occurs
- A clear division of responsibilities between the government and other agencies
- Ongoing interaction among all stakeholders
- Recognition of the government's role as a catalyst supporting the actions of "networks of independent players" (p. 6-7).

The authors raise two major policy questions that need to be answered:

- How [can we ensure] an equitable allocation of funding and meet the specific needs of each official language minority community?
- … what are the objectives to be met and the real performance outcomes that the government and non-government players should expect …? (p. 26).

The authors suggest that government can "assist the minorities in focusing their activities and define with them the indicators of effective coordination of action. It should work with them to develop a mechanism for ongoing evaluation … and for collective learning" p. 26).

The Special Committee supports the concept of horizontal governance with respect to our official languages, with both the federal and territorial governments continuing to play a key role, but with the role and responsibility of the language communities significantly enhanced. In order to move toward this system of language governance, all stakeholders must reassess their current roles and responsibilities beginning with the Legislative Assembly, the GNWT, and its associated institutions. The government has to recognize that "horizontal governance requires a change in organizational culture" (p. 4).

The government has to recognize that "horizontal governance requires a change in organizational culture."

Moreover, within a horizontal governance system, the minority language communities must play a more significant role in guiding, directing, and advising both the federal and territorial governments with respect to the planning and evaluation of languages initiatives. Minority language communities will also take on increasing responsibility for the development and implementation of community-based language initiatives. Other stakeholders — including NGOs, local governments, businesses, and other NWT agencies — must also take on greater responsibility for providing official languages programming and services as a basic component of doing business, particularly within language homelands. Importantly, all stakeholders must recognize that the survival and enhancement of our minority (and threatened) languages are ultimately dependent on the firm commitment of individuals and families, including elders, to continue promoting, using, and teaching their mother languages within their homes, communities, organizations, and schools.

Second Territorial Languages Assembly

In early October 2002, the Special Committee organized an official languages assembly on the Hay River (K'átl'odeeche) Dene Reserve to allow delegates from all of the official language communities to review and discuss the key directions the Committee presented in its Progress Report (June 2002). The language communities were represented by language professionals, activists, and elders. However, the francophone delegates chose to walk out early in the Assembly's proceedings after reading a formal statement dismissing the work of the Special Committee. The Assembly continued with the remaining delegates generally supporting the work of the Committee, with particular emphasis on the following issues:

- Delegates supported recognition of the central role that language communities must play in the revitalization of their own languages, including decisions regarding the use of Dene and Inuit terms in the *Act*
- Delegates wanted the provisions of the *OLA* clarified and strengthened, particularly the concept of active offer, with much greater accountability for official languages program and service delivery and broader application of the *OLA*
- Delegates acknowledged that Aboriginal language promotion and enhancement are priorities and that this responsibility should be held by an Aboriginal Languages Board, made up of representatives of all language communities, with some independent resources and staff
- Delegates felt that the Languages Commissioner should remain primarily in a watchdog role if a Languages Board is established
- Delegates supported the concept of regional 'one-window' language service centres, with the active involvement of the language communities, but were cautious about setting up another Language Bureau type bureaucracy
- Delegates supported the idea of consolidated, multi-year funding arrangements, that are transparent, accountable (possibly to the Board), and flow more funding through to language communities
- Delegates strongly supported a wide range of initiatives to strengthen Aboriginal language programming in the schools, including stronger legislation, the development of language curricula, more resources, more effective language instructor training, community/family linkages, and stricter accountability for funding
- Delegates supported the establishment of formal interpreter/translator standards and certification. (SCOL, 2002d, October, Second Territorial Languages Assembly: Summary of Recommendations by Stakeholders)

The delegates also wanted the Special Committee to provide the language communities with an opportunity to review its final recommendations, including any proposed changes to the *Act*. In its options and recommendations, the Special Committee has addressed all of the concerns and suggestions made at the Languages Assembly.

Comparing the Options

The options for language protection and revitalization are presented in the following matrix in point form (e.g., see Figure 7.1) organized according to the Chapter 5 language revitalization framework categories. For each element, the current situation is presented, followed by three options:

- Option 1 outlines the minimum requirements for any degree of success
- Option 2 proposes more substantive change, increasing revitalization efforts and investment
- Option 3 describes the most prescriptive and regulated environment to protect and promote official languages use.

The matrix also presents simple benefits and costs ratings. The range of benefits has been graded, based on the impact the Committee estimated that the option would have on the target population:

- Low benefit (L) estimates the option would affect less then 33% of the target population
- Medium benefit (M) is estimated to affect between 34 to 66% of the target population
- High benefit (H) is estimated to affect greater than 67% of the target population.

The costs are also rated as low through high, according to the following criteria:

- Low cost (L) estimates the option to cost less than $250 thousand per year
- Medium cost (M) is estimated to cost between $250 thousand and $1 million per year
- High cost (H) is estimated to cost over $1 million per year.

These cost-benefit estimates are presented to provide readers with a way of assessing the comparative impact of the options. A more detailed cost analysis is presented for the recommended option in the implementation and investment schedule in Chapter 8.

A. Effective Legislation and Policy Options (Figure 7.1)

Legislation provides an essential rights-based framework for language protection and revitalization. The options presented in Figure 7.1 would strengthen the current legislative framework for languages.

Legislation and Policy Option 1

The *OLA* requires basic 'housekeeping' amendments: to remove references to sections that have already been repealed, correct minor spelling and terminology errors, and correct translations in the French version of the *Act*. Further, the terms used to refer to a few of the Dene languages are anglicized terms, not Dene terms. To identify more appropriate terms, the Special Committee has initiated a consultation process with the organizations representing the affected language communities.

The *OLA* is unclear as to whether the NWT has 8 or 11 official languages. North and South Slavey are currently being funded as separate languages through the Aboriginal Language Communities program and should be listed as separate official languages in Section 4 of the *Act*. Inuktitut, Inuvialuktun, and Inuinnaqtun, however, are funded as one language group, through the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation (IRC), and it is unclear whether these languages should be listed as separate official languages in Section 4 or remain as a language group within the Interpretations section of the *OLA*. The Special Committee has requested direction from the IRC regarding this matter. The Special Committee has reviewed the potential status of Michif and supports further research and consultation to determine an appropriate designation for the language.

Legislative Option 1 proposes the establishment of a policy, to further define access rights to official languages services as provided for in Section 14. To further strengthen service delivery, the institutions to which the *OLA* applies would be listed in regulations, and policy would be added to ensure that contractors who deliver services on behalf of these institutions fall under the provisions of the *OLA*. Requirements for the provision of occupational health and safety literature and services would be addressed through regulation.

Consistent with emerging language rights theory and Aboriginal claims and self-government negotiations, the Preamble of the *OLA* would be amended to acknowledge the important role of language communities in the preservation and enhancement of their own languages. Further clarity would be gained by providing some definition of the respective Aboriginal language communities through policy. The GNWT would continue to support the negotiation of self-government agreements that address language rights.

To increase accountability, this option proposes that a responsible Minister be designated in the *OLA*. This Minister would have the authority required to ensure that all departments and agencies adhere to the *Act*, and would also be required to provide an annual report to the Legislative Assembly regarding official languages activities.

Figure 7.1. A summary of legislation and policy options. (Source: Table assembled by SCOL)

Benefits L – Low benefit M – Medium benefit H – High benefit **Costs** [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]	THE CURRENT SITUATION	BENEFITS	COSTS	OPTION 1	BENEFITS	COSTS	OPTION 2	BENEFITS	COSTS	OPTION 3	BENEFITS	COSTS
A. Effective legislation & policy												
A1 Defines language rights & housekeeping	Not clearly defined leads to differing interpretations	M	L	Clarify:	H	M/H	Option 1	H	M/H	Options 1 & 2	H	H
	8 of 11 official languages			- Interpretation in *OLA*			- Designate Michif as a Heritage language	H	L	- Negotiate with Canada to apply *OLA* to federal institutions	H	L
	Michif not recognized			- Specify rights & service (S.14) in policy								
	Housekeeping required			- Application of *OLA* listed in regulations	M	L						
				- Which languages are official								
				- Support Michif research								
				- Complete housekeeping	L	L						
A2 Provides language community autonomy	No recognition of Aboriginal collective rights or language homelands	L	L	Revise preamble:	M	L	Option 1	M	L	Option 1	M	L
				- Acknowledge language communities ownership						- In *OLA*, recognize and define the special status of the Aboriginal languages within their homelands	H	L
	Anglicized terms for Dene language	L	L	- Take direction from language communities	M	L						
A3 Achieves 'strong rights promotion' and balances collective & individual rights	Not prescriptive	L	L	Clarify:	M	M	Option 1	M	M	Options 1 & 2	M	M
	OLA speaks to individual rights	M	L	- Specify rights, service &in policy			- Strengthen language rights within language homelands	H	L	- Health & Social Services regulations for service levels	H	M
				- Regulations for occupational health and safety								
				- Designate to whom the *OLA* applies in regulations	M	L						
				- Support self government negotiations to address collective rights								

In Option 1, increased involvement of language communities (horizontal governance) is achieved through the establishment of an Aboriginal Languages Board, through Ministerial policy. This Board would primarily advise the Minister on language promotion and revitalization matters. The members of the Board would be nominated by the respective language communities, recommended by the Minister, and officially appointed by the Legislative Assembly. The Languages Commissioner's current advisory committee would no longer be required.

A French Language Secretariat would be set up through Ministerial policy to administer French language service, promotion, and funding activities. Policy functions relating to French language planning, implementation, and evaluation would also rest with the Secretariat.

The Office of the Languages Commissioner would focus to a greater extent on the ombudsman aspect of the position, although the promotional role, as alluded to in the last phrase of subsection 20(1) of the *OLA*, which refers to language advancement, would remain. In order to strengthen the ombudsman role, Option 1 proposes increasing accountability of the Legislative Assembly by requiring the Assembly, through the *Act*, to respond to the recommendations of the Commissioner within a set time limit, i.e., 180 days. An acting provision would be added to Part II of the *OLA*, so no gaps would occur between Commissioner appointments. Also, subsection 19(3) would be repealed because it has little practical meaning. The management and administration of the Office would be reviewed and improved by the Assembly. Finally, the *Act* would be amended to call for another legislative review in 10 years.

As a complete package, Legislative Option 1, provides for greater accountability, strengthens the definition and application of individual and collective language rights, involves language communities to a greater extent, and clarifies the role and focus of the Languages Commissioner. Overall, its benefits would be medium to high and its cost low to medium. Because this option represents the basic changes required, additional funding would have to be allocated as needed.

Figure 7.1. A summary of legislation and policy options (Source: Table assembled by SCOL)

Benefits L = Low benefit M = Medium benefit H = High benefit **Costs** L = less than $250,000/annum M = $250,000/annum up to $1,000,000/annum H = Over $1,000,000/annum	THE CURRENT SITUATION	BENEFITS	COSTS	OPTION 1	BENEFITS	COSTS	OPTION 2	BENEFITS	COSTS	OPTION 3	BENEFITS	COSTS
A. Effective legislation & policy												
A4. Defines roles, responsibilities & accountability	No designated authority or definition of language communities	M	L	Designate Minister responsible and annual reporting (detail) in OLA	H	L	Designate Minister responsible and annual reporting (detail) in Act	H	L	Minister responsible and annual reporting (detail) in OLA	H	L
	Too vague			Status quo OLA evaluation in 10 years	M	M	Establish Aboriginal Languages Board in OLA	H	M	Establish Aboriginal Languages Board & French secretariat in OLA &/or regulation	H	M
	Review every ten years	M	L	Definition of language communities by policy	H	L	OLA evaluation 2008, evaluation based on data & assembly life	H	H	Scope of evaluation linked to regulations	H	H
	No obligation on third party contractors	L	L	Ensure third party contractors comply with OLA through policy	M	M	Ensure third party contractors comply with Act through regulations	H	H	Ensure third party contractors comply with OLA through legislation	H	H
A5. Has a Languages Board & a Secretariat	No provision	L	L	Create Aboriginal Languages Board through policy	M	L	Amend Act to create Aboriginal Languages Board and create regulations	H	M/H	Independent Aboriginal Languages Board, responsible for promotion, planning, coordination and resource allocation	H	M/H
				Aboriginal Languages Board to provide general advice to Minister			Aboriginal Languages Board as advisor to Minister on planning, coordination and resource allocation			Report to Minister responsible		
				Nominated by language communities, recommended by Minister, approved by Assembly	H	L	Aboriginal Languages Board responsible for promotion			Nominated by language communities, recommended by Minister, approved by Assembly		
				French secretariat within Ministry	H	L	Nominated by language communities, recommended by Minister, approved by Assembly			Amend OLA regarding powers and responsibilities		
							Provide resources to Aboriginal Languages Board to support its function			French secretariat within Ministry	H	L
							French secretariat within Ministry	H	L			
A6. Remedy & sanctions	Office of the Languages Commissioner	M	M	Office of the Languages Commissioner	M	M	Option 1	M	M	Option 1	M	L
	There is an office			Add acting provisions			Revise 20 (1)	M	L	Option 2	H	L
	Authority too weak			Report review within 180 days by Assembly			Promotion functions to Minister responsible; resources from savings on compliance & Languages Commissioner's advisory board & PR to Aboriginal Languages Boards	H	L	Increase power to subpoena and court action	M	M
	No provision for acting			Change admin. & staffing process			Repeal 19 (2) Public Service Act					
	Weakness in management			Review management procedure								
	Weakness in review and follow up of annual reports			Repeal 19 (3)								
	Weak staffing process			Repeal 20 (3)								

Legislation and Policy Option 2

Legislative Option 2 includes most of the changes presented in Option 1, with a few significant differences. Regulations would be introduced to ensure that contractors who deliver services on behalf of designated GNWT departments and agencies comply with the *OLA*. These regulations would establish a more prescriptive framework for essential service delivery. This approach would have a higher impact and would increase costs by increasing service obligations.

In Option 2, the Aboriginal Languages Board would be established under the *OLA*. This Board would assume the broad promotional mandate now assigned to the Languages Commissioner. The last phrase of subsection 20(1) — "including any of their activities relating to the advancement of the aboriginal languages in the Territories" — would be deleted and responsibility for Aboriginal language promotion would be assigned to the new Board. This Board would act in an advisory capacity to the Minister, but on a wider range of issues, including planning, promotion, coordination, and resource allocation. The Board would also provide a valuable accountability link between the language communities and the designated Minister. Regulations would be established addressing the Board's terms of reference: definition of the Aboriginal language communities; linkages to the Aboriginal language communities, including consultation linkages; and role and responsibilities.

Under this option, subsection 19(2) would be repealed, allowing the Office of the Languages Commissioner to be independent of the public service. With this option, the functions and the costs of this Office would be reduced, with savings redirected to the Minister responsible and/or the Aboriginal Languages Board. The Board would become responsible for the allocation of current funding for Aboriginal language promotion.

In Option 2, evaluation of the impact of the *OLA* would occur on a smaller scale than the current review, but more often. The next review would occur in 2008, coinciding with the release of new Census Canada data (2006) and the end of the next Canada-NWT Cooperation Agreement. Evaluating the *OLA* at this point in time, and every 5 years thereafter, would allow for more timely intervention where language decline is occurring.

Overall, Option 2 would enhance language rights and obligations to the benefit of all minority language communities, but would also require more new funding.

Legislation and Policy Option 3

Option 3 would include provisions to further strengthen some of the elements addressed in Options 1 and 2. Official languages services regarding health and social services would be a priority and would be defined through regulation. Compliance by contractors delivering GNWT services would be structured into the *Act*. The GNWT would negotiate with the Government of Canada to extend the application of the *OLA* to federal institutions and services in the NWT.

This option would incorporate special recognition of Aboriginal languages within their homelands, as defined by claims and self-government agreements, into the *OLA* itself, effectively recognizing the collective language rights of Aboriginal peoples. Option 3 would establish the Aboriginal Languages Board as an independent body, with authority for certain aspects of language policy — such as certification, terminology development, and resource allocation — along with program and service delivery responsibilities.

The option also proposes granting the Office of the Languages Commissioner the authority to subpoena and initiate court action, similar to the federal Office of the Languages Commissioner. As well, this option proposes that the scope of the evaluations carried out every 5 years be defined through regulation.

B. Effective Management Options (Figure 7.2)

The options outlined in Figure 7.2 and described below have been designed to improve significantly the management structures and systems for official language programming and services.

Management Option 1

In Option 1, service standards would be defined through policy to ensure greater compliance. This option also proposes that, within one year, the GNWT establish a comprehensive 5-year official languages implementation plan to guide budget planning for the 2004-2005 fiscal year. The plan would incorporate an evaluation framework based on the federal Treasury Board of Canada Secretariat (2001) model, identifying, gathering, and monitoring both output- and outcome-based data. The evaluation framework would incorporate a formal language-community consultation process, including consultations prior to the upcoming negotiations regarding the Canada-NWT Cooperation Agreement.

This option proposes that the GNWT Bureau of Statistics be tasked to gather and analyze specific languages data from Census Canada and also from a modified Labour Force Survey. The Minister responsible would use this data along with information and data from other sources to provide regular reports on the status of our official languages and language shift trends.

Overall, this option would provide medium to high benefit, primarily using existing funding. Although departments may have to allocate some new funding to support a more comprehensive evaluation framework, this is a basic and fundamental management step to improved accountability.

Management Option 2

Management Option 2 is guided by the provisions of Legislative Option 2 above, including the use of regulations to define some services and the establishment of an Aboriginal Languages Board to advise the Minister responsible. This option incorporates all of the planning, implementation, and evaluation systems and structures from Management Option 1. However, the Minister would be required to consult with the Board on language initiatives.

Option 2 calls for the piloting of comprehensive sociolinguistic research with respect to the Aboriginal languages and, as a component of this process, the development of measures for language fluency and literacy. New funding would likely be required for these initiatives, but costs might be reduced through partnerships with other agencies and the language communities.

Management Option 3

Option 3 is consistent with the proposal in Legislative Option 3 that the Aboriginal Languages Board be established as an independent body with significant language policy and programming responsibilities. Accountability systems and procedures would remain the same, but would be shared between the Board and the Minister. Benefits are estimated to be high for this option and costs would increase.

Figure 7.2. A summary of management options (Source: Table assembled by SCOL)

Benefits L – Low benefit M – Medium benefit H – High benefit **Costs** L – less than $250,000/annum M – $250,000/annum up to $1,000,000/annum H – Over $1,000,000/annum	**THE CURRENT SITUATION**	BENEFITS	COSTS	**OPTION 1**	BENEFITS	COSTS	**OPTION 2**	BENEFITS	COSTS	**OPTION 3**	BENEFITS	COSTS
B. Effective Management												
B1. Guided by legislative & policy framework	- Policies & guidelines but no regulations	L	L	- Specify through policy	M	L	- Specify through regulations	H	L	- Specify through regulations	H	L
B2. Comprehensive implementation planning	- No implementation plan for *OLA*	L	L	- 5 yr. implementation plan within one year and included with budget proposals for 2004/5	H	L	- 5 yr. implementation plan within one year and included with budget proposals for 2004/2005	H	L	- 5 yr. implementation plan within one year and included with budget proposals for 2004/2005	H	L
B3. Language communities are decision-makers	- Consultation re GNWT programs / services - Decision-making re Language Contributions - Self-governance authorities	M H H	L L L	- Set up formal consultation process within one year	M	L	- Move consultation process to board and define through regulations	M	L	- Transfer all Aboriginal language program funding to Board excluding schools	H	H
B4. Partnerships to plan & deliver	- Not a partnership model	L	L	- Consultation with language communities on Cooperation Agreement Action Plan & evaluation framework	M	L	- Consultation with language communities on Cooperation Agreement Action Plan & evaluation framework	M	L	- Consultation with language communities on Cooperation Agreement Action Plan & evaluation framework	M	L
B5. Evaluation system	- Measures outputs but not outcomes - No Vote 1 evaluation process	L L	L L	- Use Treasury Board (TB) evaluation framework with planning to increase accountability - Gather data required	H H	H H	- Use TB evaluation framework with planning to increase accountability - Gather data required	H H	H H	- Use TB evaluation framework with planning to increase accountability - Gather data required	H H	H H
B6. Consistent statistics & sociolinguistic data systems	- Census Canada (CC) provides useful data - Labour Force Survey (LFS) not well used - Weak sociolinguistic data	L/M L	L L	- Mandate Statistics Bureau to gather and consolidate data required from LFS and CC - Collect and analyze existing sociolinguistic studies	M M	L M	- Option 1	M	L	- Option 1	M	L

C. Effective Financing Options (Figure 7.3)

The options proposed in Figure 7.3 are intended to maximize the use of existing funding while identifying new funding sources. As for most programs and services, the Special Committee is aware that more language funding would be beneficial, but additional funding is scarce. Therefore, it has identified both phased investments and priority areas for new funding in its recommendations.

Financing Option 1

At minimum, the GNWT must ensure that all Vote 4 and Vote 1 funding allocated to official languages program and service delivery is used as such, particularly with respect to Aboriginal language schooling. By establishing the Treasury Board of Canada Secretariat (2001) evaluation approach, with clearer accountability indicators and measures, better use can be made of current funding. As a component of this evaluation process, the process for transferring and monitoring funding to the language communities can also be evaluated, with the goal of improving the ability and capacity of these communities to deliver effective language programming (Cardinal & Hudon, 2001). Stronger language legislation, as proposed in Legislative Options 1 through 3, would require GNWT departments and agencies to reassess their current official languages service allocations and budget accordingly.

The Canada-NWT Cooperation Agreement has provided valuable ongoing support for official languages initiatives in the NWT and must continue. Consulting with the language communities (Management Option 1) prior to renegotiating this agreement may lead to a stronger agreement. This option also includes supporting the language communities to establish their own revenue generating activities, such as endowment funds and economic activities that incorporate a strong language component.

Figure 7.3. A summary of financing options (Source: Table assembled by SCOL)

Benefits L – Low benefit M – Medium benefit H – High benefit **Costs** L – less than $250,000/annum M – $250,000/annum up to $1,000,000/annum H – Over $1,000,000/annum	**THE CURRENT SITUATION**	BENEFITS	COSTS	**OPTION 1**	BENEFITS	COSTS	**OPTION 2**	BENEFITS	COSTS	**OPTION 3**	BENEFITS	COSTS
C. Effective Financing												
C1. Utilizes base funding	- Low % of base funding used	L	L	- Ensure funding allocated for languages is used as such - Ensure program funds are optimized	H	L	Option 1 - Increase funding for *OLA* programs & services	H H	L L/H	Option 1 - Increase funding for *OLA* programs & services	H H	L L/H
C2. Special funds can be found	- Cooperation Agreement has provided on-going funding	M/H	L	- Optimize Canada- NWT Cooperation Agreement - Encourage Canada to continue Aboriginal Language Initiatives & French language programming	H M	L L	Option 1 - Find other ways for partners to invest - Encourage industry and NGOs to support language initiatives and service delivery	H H H	L L L	Option 1 - Find other ways for partners to invest - Encourage industry and NGOs to support language initiatives and service delivery	H H H	L L L
C3. Partnership in language endowment funding	- Fund for French - None for Aboriginal	M L	L L	- Support language communities to establish revenue generating activities	H	L	- Support language communities to establish revenue generating activities	H	L	- Support language communities to establish revenue generating activities	H	L
C4. Flexible but accountable financial systems	- Contribution Agreement process already provides some flexibility	M	L	- Evaluate and enhance Contribution Agreement process	H	L	Option 1 - Establish alternate multi-year funding arrangements	H H	L L	Option 1 - Establish alternate multi-year funding arrangements	H H	L L

Financing Option 2 and 3

Options 2 and 3 include all of the Option 1 suggestions, but call for an increase in Vote 1 funding for Aboriginal language programs and services, particularly to implement the recommendations of this review. New funding, where it is available and based on evaluation, can be utilized to enhance programming. These options also call for the establishment of multi-year funding arrangements with language communities to provide greater certainty and reduce administrative costs.

These options would include a concerted effort to convince all stakeholders, including industry, of the benefit of providing official languages services as a key component of doing business and building positive working relationships with northern communities. The GNWT would instruct its departments and agencies to work with language communities to develop innovative ways to support cooperative investments in language initiatives, based on the concept of languages as a valuable northern resource.

D. Effective Service Delivery Options (Figure 7.4)

Effective and equitable official language service is best addressed through the proper application of active offer. Figure 7.4 outlines the options described below.

Service Delivery Option 1

In Option 1, the definition and application of active offer would be clarified through revisions to the *Official Languages Guidelines Manual*. To support implementation, the GNWT bilingual bonus directive would be evaluated and applied more effectively. As well, the GNWT would publish a public registry of interpreter/translators for easier access by departments and agencies and would support the advancement of the I/T profession generally. Further, the GNWT would actively promote the expansion of official languages services among all stakeholders. All of these activities can be carried out at low cost, and would likely result in low to moderate benefit.

In many situations, active offer requires the ability to interpret information at community gatherings. For all options, means must be found to provide communities with cost-effective access to basic translation equipment. This might be accomplished through partnership arrangements between government, industry, and the language communities, all of which would benefit from the use of this equipment.

Service Delivery Options 2 and 3

Options 2 and 3 call for a more prescriptive and coordinated approach. In Option 2, the definition and application of active offer would be done through regulation, while in Option 3 it would be done in the *OLA*. In both cases, the GNWT would designate more front-line bilingual positions within language territories. Significantly, in Option 2, the GNWT would also establish one French and one Aboriginal language service centre as pilot projects. These centres would provide basic public services in the respective languages and would provide liaison services between the public and other departments. A 1-800 line would allow for off-site access to

Figure 7.4 A summary of service delivery options. (Source: Table assembled by SCOL)

Benefits L = Low benefit M = Medium benefit H = High benefit **Costs** L = less than $250,000/annum M = $250,000/annum up to $1,000,000/annum H = Over $1,000,000/annum	THE CURRENT SITUATION	BENEFITS	COSTS	OPTION 1	BENEFITS	COSTS	OPTION 2	BENEFITS	COSTS	OPTION 3	BENEFITS	COSTS
D. Effective Service Delivery												
D1. Active Offer	In guidelines	L	L	Clarify application of guidelines and implement	M	L	Put active offer in regulations and cite limitations	M	H	Put active offer in OLA	H	H
D2. Uses bilingual service providers	Bilingual bonus directive Passive	L L	M L	Evaluate and implement proper use of directive Provide translation equipment to each language community	M M	L L	Evaluate and implement proper use of directive Provide required front line bilingual positions Pilot 3 French & 1 Aboriginal one-window service centre with 1-800 number Provide translation equipment to each language community	M H H	L L L	Evaluate and implement proper use of directive Designate more front line bilingual positions One-window service centres for each language community with 1-800-number Provide translation equipment to each language community	M M H H	L L H L
D3. Supports interpreter /translators	No published updated central registry Irregular employment	L L	L L	ECE to publish public registry Promote and provide support to profession	H H	L L	See D2	H	M	See D2	H	M
D4. Promotes expansion of services in language	Some businesses and agencies use Aboriginal and/or French languages as part of doing business	M	L	Promote language as resource Encourage all businesses and agencies to use official languages as part of doing business	H H	L L	Fund language based businesses Encourage all businesses and agencies to use official languages as part of doing business	H H	L L	Fund language based businesses Encourage all businesses and agencies to use official languages as part of doing business	H H	L L

services. The French centre would be located in Yellowknife, while the location of the pilot Aboriginal centre would have to be negotiated. Option 3 calls for service centres in each language region and might be considered a longer-term option, depending on the cost and success of the pilot project. The cost of each centre would be moderate, but, collectively, the cost would be high, which is why their cost-benefits must first be piloted.

E. Effective Human Resource Development Options (Figure 7.5)

Any increase in official languages program and service obligations will require a corresponding increase in human resource capacity — specifically, more effective training and certification of interpreter/translators and language instructors, along with professional development (PD) opportunities for other GNWT staff. Figure 7.5 illustrates the options available for human resource capacity building.

In these options, the GNWT would work closely with the Aboriginal language communities to establish certification standards for I/Ts; offer ongoing I/T training, particularly in the areas of health and justice; and consolidate I/T and language instructor training in the regions. This type of training must be tied to meaningful employment opportunities to be effective. The GNWT's official languages implementation plan would address bilingual employment opportunities.

The role of Aurora College in this training, and the potential role of language and cultural institutes, would be determined in consultation with the language communities. These agencies would report on their activities to the Aboriginal Languages Board, which would facilitate coordination, information sharing, and tracking activities. The overall cost for these initiatives would be low to moderate and would incorporate existing funding. Developing meaningful employment for a group of trained and certified language professionals would be of very high benefit.

Further, introductory second-language courses would be developed and made available to front-line GNWT staff, on demand, in order to increase language sensitivity and skills. These courses could either be developed by the College or Aboriginal organizations and could also be offered to other agencies and to the public at large. Advanced language training would also be available as an option, including linguistic training.

Figure 7.5: A summary of human resource development options (Source: Table assembled by SCOL)

Benefits L – Low benefit M – Medium benefit H – High benefit **Costs** L – less than $250,000/annum M – $250,000/annum – up to $1,000,000/annum H – Over $1,000,000/annum	**THE CURRENT SITUATION**	BENEFITS	COSTS	**OPTION 1**	BENEFITS	COSTS	**OPTION 2**	BENEFITS	COSTS	**OPTION 3**	BENEFITS	COSTS
E. Effective Human Resource Development												
E1 Graduated & certified languages training programs - Language instructors - Interpreter-Translators	I/T certification standards exist I/T courses on hold because of low demand Aboriginal Language & Culture Instructors Program (ALCIP) exists	L M	L M	Continue I/T certification standards process with other language communities Offer I/T training on demand, with Departments of Justice and Health & Social Services as priorities Consolidate I/T and Language Instructor courses, with input from language communities	H M M/H	L L L/M	Option 1 Aurora College to provide annual report to Aboriginal Languages Board re: training activities	H H	L L	Option 1 Aurora College to provide annual report to Aboriginal Languages Board re: training activities	H L	L L
E2 Employment & career opportunities	Limited career opportunities/career paths	L	L	See Figure 7.6 H1 Option 1	H	L	See Figure 7.1 A5 Option 2	H	M/H	See Figure 7.1 A5 Option 3	H	M/H
E3 Provide professional development/adult language training	Limited professional/adult access to official language training	L	L	GNWT to support language training for staff as PD Develop curriculum & offer language training for staff on demand	L M	L M	Option 1 Aurora College offers one course in each language community	L M	L M/H	Options 1 & 2	H	M

F. Effective Research and Development Options (Figure 7.6)

The options outlined in Figure 7.6 encourage and support research and terminology development to ensure the Aboriginal languages adapt to contemporary situations while maintaining their traditional integrity. Research and development (R&D) requires strong partnerships among all language stakeholders, with language communities taking a lead role.

Research and Development Option 1

Option 1 primarily involves the GNWT establishing working relationships with and among language communities and cultural institutes to identify terminology needs, assist in funding terminology development, and establishing a terminology approval process. Elders would play an active role through their respective organizations. As well, the GNWT would work with the language communities to compile and circulate a formal catalogue of language materials that have been produced over the past decade. While continuing to fund further material development, through the teaching and learning centres (TLCs) and other cultural agencies, the Minister responsible would ensure that activities are coordinated and resources are shared, where possible, in order to reduce duplication. Funding for the Oral Traditions (now Cultural Projects) and Geographical Place Names programs would continue.

Research and Development Option 2

Option 2 proposes that cultural institutes take a lead role in language research and development, coordinated with the Minister responsible and the Aboriginal Languages Board. The involvement of elders would occur through the language communities, although the Board might also establish formal linkages with territorial and regional Elders' Councils. Under Option 2, the amount of funding dedicated to Oral Traditions program (now Cultural Projects) and place name research would be increased, pending an evaluation of these programs. Overall, this option would provide high benefit by supporting R&D work directed by language communities, agencies, and elders.

Research and Development Option 3

This option would further the trend toward the assumption of greater responsibilities by the language communities. The GNWT would support the establishment of regional linguistic committees that would be linked through the Aboriginal Languages Board. The Board would take on a clearinghouse function at the territorial level: gathering, cataloguing, and distributing language resources. Linkages would be established with existing cultural institutes.

Figure 7.6. A summary of research and development options (Source: Table assembled by SCOL)

Benefits L – Low benefit M – Medium benefit H – High benefit **Costs** L – Less than $250,000/annum M – $250,000/annum up to $1,000,000/annum H – Over $1,000,000/annum	THE CURRENT SITUATION	BENEFITS	COSTS	OPTION 1	BENEFITS	COSTS	OPTION 2	BENEFITS	COSTS	OPTION 3	BENEFITS	COSTS
F. Effective Research & Development												
F1 An authoritative board and systematic approach to language standardization and modernization	No established linguistics committees/board functions since Language Bureau disbanded Departments and language communities doing terminology work	L L	L L	Consult language communities and cultural institutes Work with language communities to establish terminology research and approval processes, probably on as needed basis; all departments to follow this process	M M	L L	Where possible language communities use cultural institutes for language research and development work	H	L/M	Aboriginal Languages Board to encourage language communities to establish working linguistics committees	H	L
F2 Utilizes elders and other local language expertise	Elders used by GNWT on ad hoc basis Language communities use elders	M	L	Encourage GNWT to use elders on a regular basis and coordinate through language communities	H	L	Aboriginal Languages Board to establish formal links with existing Elders Councils	H	L	Aboriginal Languages Board to establish formal links with existing Elders Councils	H	L
F3 Acknowledges & respects dialects; maintains standard orthography	Dialect issues affect all research and development	L	L	See F-1 Option 1	M	L	See F-1 Option 2	H	L/M	See F-1 Option 3	H	L
F4 Produces & disseminates materials	Material production done through TLCs, language communities, cultural institutes and NGOs No overall cataloguing No formal link between materials developed and school language programming (see Figure 7.7)	M L L	M L L	Continue to fund material development; coordinate activities, reduce duplication and share resources Establish a formal cataloguing of materials	H H	M M	Continue to fund material development, coordinate activities, reduce duplication and share resources Consult with board to establish a formal cataloguing of materials	H H	M M	Establish a formal cataloguing of materials Establish Aboriginal languages clearinghouse as function of Languages Board	H M	M M/H
F5 Documents oral traditions	Oral Traditions program (now Cultural Projects) exists but not evaluated	M	L	Continue to fund Oral Traditions program (now Cultural Projects) See F4 Option 1	H	L	Increase funding of Oral Traditions program (now Cultural Projects) based on evaluation	H	L	See F-4 Option 3	H	L
F6 Uses traditional place names as official names	Geographic Place Names program exists but not evaluated	H	L	Continue to fund Geographic Place Names program based on evaluation See F4 Option 1	H	L	Increase funding to Geographic Place Names program based on evaluation	H	L	Increase funding to Geographic Place Names program based on evaluation	H	L

G. Effective Aboriginal Language Education Options (Figure 7.7)

Increasing Aboriginal language use in the schools is imperative. The options outlined in Figure 7.7 are further described below.

Aboriginal Education Option 1

This option proposes a revised balance between the Minister responsible for education and education authorities with respect to language, so that the Minister can hold these agencies more accountable with respect to Aboriginal language programming. A Ministerial Directive would be issued that would restrict local and regional authorities from reallocating Aboriginal language funding to other school activities. These agencies would be directed to implement Section 73.3 of the *Education Act*. Based on a strategic language development plan — incorporating strong linkages between the schools, TLCs, and language communities — the NWT education system would actively develop the capacity to offer Aboriginal language programming from pre-school through grade 12. Regional and community education authorities would be encouraged to work with language communities to address the concurrent language needs of parents and promote family fluency and literacy.

Under this option, the Minister would oversee the immediate development of an Aboriginal language arts curriculum, along with the resources required to support this curriculum. The curriculum would combine educational approaches, with a focus on bilingual education. The Minister would be required to submit an annual report on the status of curriculum development initiatives to the Legislative Assembly. The benefits from Option 1 would be moderate and new investment would be required, particularly for curriculum development.

Aboriginal Education Option 2

Option 2 incorporates the elements of Option 1 but is more prescriptive. It calls for a second Ministerial Directive mandating a minimum number of instructional hours for the Aboriginal languages within their respective language homelands. This option would oblige the Department and education authorities to develop curricula; actively recruit and retain Aboriginal language instructors, with incentives as needed; and expand the role of the TLCs to produce resource materials to support curriculum implementation.

In order to prepare children for school programming, early childhood immersion programming would also be developed and offered, in consultation and cooperation with language communities. Education authorities would be directed to partner with language communities to address parent language training. Under this option, the Education Minister would prepare and review the annual report on the status of curriculum development and language revitalization initiatives with the Aboriginal Languages Board and would report to the Legislative Assembly. This option would increase overall benefits and would entail additional costs.

Figure 7.7. A summary of Aboriginal language education options (Source: Table assembled by SCOL)

Benefits L = Low benefit M = Medium benefit H = High benefit **Costs** L = less than $250,000/annum M = $250,000/annum up to $1,000,000/annum H = Over $1,000,000/annum	**THE CURRENT SITUATION**	BENEFITS	COSTS	**OPTION 1**	BENEFITS	COSTS	**OPTION 2**	BENEFITS	COSTS	**OPTION 3**	BENEFITS	COSTS
G. Effective Aboriginal Language Education												
G 1. Language rights in education system	- Accountability with DEA/DEC for Aboriginal language programming resulting in inconsistent program delivery - Enabling rather than prescriptive but provisions limit access - No ECE implementation plan	L	L	- Through Ministerial directive, hold DEA/DEC accountable for Aboriginal language funding - Balance DEA/DEC and Ministerial authority for Aboriginal language program delivery by legislation	M M	L L	Option 1 - Through Ministerial directive, mandate minimum number of instructional hours to be provided for Aboriginal language instruction	H H	M H	Options 1 & 2 - Through legislation & *regulations, parental right* to petition for Aboriginal language immersion schooling where the numbers warrant within homelands	H	H
G 2. Language education rights and access within homelands	- See Figure 7.1 A 2	L	L	- See G 1 Option 1	M	L	- Apply G 1 Option 2 within 'homelands'	H	M	- Apply G 2 Option 3 within 'settlement areas'	H	H
G 3. Mandates language education	- DEA/DEC must provide another official language program (Section 73.3 of Education Act)	L	L	- Implement Section 73.3 of *Education Act* - Improve programming through curriculum and resource development	M	L	- Improve programming through curriculum and resource development - See G 1 Option 2	H H	M M	- Revise *Education Act* to mandate minimum number of instructional hours to be provided for Aboriginal language instruction	H	H
G 4. Continuum of programming: early childhood to grade 12	- Limited opportunity for programming at all levels	L	L	- Develop and implement early childhood programming - Develop and implement K-12 programming	M H	M H	- Early Childhood immersion program - Develop and implement K-12 programming	M H	H H	- Bilingual K-12 program - Establish Aboriginal language immersion projects in every language community	H H	H H
G 5. Develops adequate curricula and materials	- Dene Kede and Inuuqatigiit curricula partially implemented - Few supporting language arts materials	L	L	- Minister to publish report on each curriculum & results - Develop and implement Aboriginal Language curricula including evaluation tools	H	M	Option 1 - Minister to review annual report with Aboriginal Languages Board re curricula & results	H	M	- Develop curricula in all official Aboriginal languages for all subject areas	H	H

Figure 7.7. A summary of Aboriginal language education options (Source: Table assembled by SCOL)

Benefits L – Low benefit M – Medium benefit H – High benefit **Costs** L – less than $250,000/annum M – $250,000/annum up to $1,000,000/annum H – Over $1,000,000/annum	**THE CURRENT SITUATION**	BENEFITS	COSTS	**OPTION 1**	BENEFITS	COSTS	**OPTION 2**	BENEFITS	COSTS	**OPTION 3**	BENEFITS	COSTS
G. Effective Aboriginal Language Education												
G6. Trains, certifies & supports language teachers	- ALCIP full & part time - TEP – elective language courses	L	L	- See G 4 Option 1 - Active recruitment & retention strategy	L H	L L	- Active recruitment & retention strategy - Offer limited range of incentives for Aboriginal teacher training	H H	L M	- Active recruitment & retention strategy - Offer a full range of incentives for Aboriginal teacher training	H H	L H
G7. Provides language courses for other teachers	- See Figure 7.5 E 3	L	L	- See Figure 7.5 E 3 Option 1	L	L	- See Figure 7.5 E 3 Option 2	L	L	- See Figure 7.5 E 3 Option 3	H	M
G8. Language programming using base funds	- See Figure 7.3 C 1	M/H	L	- See Figure 7.3 C 1 Option 1	H	L	- See Figure 7.3 C 1 Option 2	H	L/H	- See Figure 7.3 C 1 Option 3	H	L/H
G9. Supports concurrent parent language training	- Limited support	L	L	- Encourage DEA/DEC/ language community partnership to address parent language training	M	L	- Encourage DEA/DEC/ language community partnership to address parent language training	M	L	- Encourage DEA/DEC/ language community partnership to address parent language training	M	L
G10. Planning & evaluation	- Short term planning at all levels - No evaluation	L	L	- ECE take lead role to develop strategic plan 1) Development 2) Implementation 3) Evaluation 4) Renewal - Strong linkage among each TLC, language community and schools	H	L	Option 1 - Expanded role for TLCs and languages communities with more funding and professional/technical support from ECE	H	M	Option 1 & 2 - Major program development responsibility for TLCs and language communities - See G6	H	H

Aboriginal Education Option 3

Option 3 calls for amendments to the *Education Act* to provide Aboriginal people with education rights similar to francophones. Aboriginal parents, within their language homelands and where numbers warrant, would be able to petition for Aboriginal language immersion schooling. The *Act* would also prescribe the minimum number of hours for Aboriginal language instruction for children not participating in immersion programming. This option requires a concerted effort to train and recruit Aboriginal language instructors and a full range of incentives would have to be offered. This option, over time, would lead to bilingual kindergarten to grade 12 programming in language arts, and the adaptation of subject area curricula to the Aboriginal languages for use in immersion programs. This option would also increase the program development responsibilities of the Department and TLCs and would require significant new curriculum development expenditures. Option 3 would produce high benefits and require significant new investments.

H. Effective Promotion Options (Figure 7.8)

Figure 7.8 summarizes the options considered for effective language promotion. Promotion involves two main tasks: encouraging members of a language community, particularly children and youth, to speak their language; and creating a sensitive and supportive environment for language revitalization initiatives. From this perspective, a social marketing plan must be developed and implemented. Option 1 proposes that such a plan be developed by the Minister responsible. Options 2 and 3 propose that the Aboriginal Languages Board and French language community be responsible for developing these plans. Leaders and other role models would be encouraged to use the Aboriginal or French languages wherever possible, particularly within the Legislative Assembly and the media. Concerted effort would be made, and incentives offered, to encourage industry and other agencies to use and profile the Aboriginal and French languages, particularly in those regions or areas where these languages are commonly used. Signage, for example, is a simple method of profiling local languages.

Options 2 and 3 propose more funding for promotional activities and increased cross-cultural training for GNWT staff. The majority of promotional activities would involve cost-sharing, but the GNWT would have to allocate some new funding for cross-cultural training and for promotional incentives.

Figure 7.8. A summary of promotion options (Source: Table assembled by SCOL)

Benefits L = Low benefit M = Medium benefit H = High benefit **Costs** L = less than $250,000/annum M = $250,000/annum up to $1,000,000/annum H = Over $1,000,000/annum	THE CURRENT SITUATION	BENEFITS	COSTS	OPTION 1	BENEFITS	COSTS	OPTION 2	BENEFITS	COSTS	OPTION 3	BENEFITS	COSTS
H. Effective Promotion												
H1. Uses social marketing techniques	- No strategic marketing plan and low profile for official languages	L	L	- Develop and implement social marketing plan within one year	H	L	- See Figure 7.1 A5 Option 2	H	M/H	- See Figure 7.1 A5 Option 3 - Fund and give responsibility to French community	H H	M/H L
H2. Promotes culture & language among youth	- No formal promotion	L	L	- See H 1 Option 1 - Encourage GNWT to promote	M	L	- See Figure 7.1 A5 Option 2 - Increase funding	H H	M/H L	- See Figure 7.1 A5 Option 3 - Increase funding - Give responsibility to French community	H H H	M/H L L
H3. Promotes cross-cultural understanding	- Minimal cross-cultural training provided for GNWT employees	L	L	- Evaluate existing cross-cultural training - Cross-cultural training provided to GNWT employees	M H	L M/H	- See Figure 7.1 A5 Option 2	H	M/H	- See Figure 7.1 A5 Option 3	H	M/H
H4. Modernizes the language	- See Figure 7.6 F1 The Current Situation	L	L	- See Figure 7.6 F 1 Option 1	M	L	- See Figure 7.1 A5 Option 2	H	M/H	- See Figure 7.1 A5 Option 3	H	M/H
H5. Supportive learning environment	- Not very supportive learning environment	L	L	- See H3 Option 1	L	L	- See Figure 7.1 A5 Option 2	H	M/H	- See Figure 7.1 A5 Option 3	H	M/H
H6. Role models the use of the language	- Limited use of the Aboriginal & French languages in Assembly - Exists in *OLA* & Assembly policy - GNWT meetings/ gatherings often assume the use of English - Exists in Guidelines	L H L M	L L L L	- Encourage leaders and other role models to use Aboriginal & French languages first - See Figure 7.4 D1	M M	M H	- See Figure 7.1 A5 Option 2	H	M/H	- See Figure 7.1 A5 Option 3	H	M/H
H7. Makes the language more visible	- Signage is used in many central and regional offices - Exists in Guidelines	M	L	- See Figure 7.1 A1 Option 1 - See Figure 7.4 D 2 Options 2 & 3	M	L	- See Figure 7.1 A5 Option 2 - See Figure 7.4 D2 Option 2 - Encourage businesses and NGOs to voluntarily use official languages, e.g., signage	H M	M L	- See Figure 7.1 A5 Option 3 - See Figure 7.4 D2 Option 3 - Encourage businesses and NGOs to use official languages signage, etc through incentives	H H H	M/H H L

I. Effective Media and Technology Options (See Figure 7.9)

Over the past decade, the Aboriginal and French language communities have continued to expand their media involvement. Figure 7.9 outlines the options considered.

The primary option available to the GNWT is to continue supporting and utilizing these media for advertising, informational, and promotional purposes, to the extent that funding permits. These media can be supported as cultural agencies and also as businesses. Media training for Aboriginal language speakers can be supported through student funding and through special incentives such as scholarships from industry, Aboriginal governments, or other agencies.

From a technology perspective, the GNWT could install Aboriginal language fonts on its computers. As well, the GNWT can work with language communities to identify methods to provide technical support for those agencies wishing to incorporate Aboriginal language fonts into specialized software applications, along with other relevant technical advice.

Options Summary

Language protection and revitalization is a complex matter at the best of times, but in the NWT it is heightened by the fact that we effectively have 11 official languages spread over a relatively small population base. In this situation, no simple solutions to language decline have emerged. For this reason, the Special Committee has prepared, presented, and reviewed, in depth, a wide range of options to prevent the further decline of our official languages and to support a comprehensive revitalization process. In doing so, the Committee has listened carefully to NWT constituents, considered the potential impacts and benefits of these options and their estimated costs, and been guided by the spirit and intent of the *Official Languages Act*. The preferred option, contained in the implementation and investment schedule presented in Chapter 8, reflects a carefully considered blend of the many options presented in this chapter, to establish a revitalization path that is effective, achievable, and sustainable.

Figure 7.9. A summary of media and technology options (Source: Table assembled by SCOL)

Benefits L - Low benefit M - Medium benefit H - High benefit **Costs** L - less than $250,000/annum M - $250,000/annum up to $1,000,000/annum H - over $1,000,000/annum	THE CURRENT SITUATION	BENEFITS	COSTS	OPTION 1	BENEFITS	COSTS	OPTION 2	BENEFITS	COSTS	OPTION 3	BENEFITS	COSTS
I. Effective Media & Technology												
I.1 Government support for media production & transmission	- GNWT currently funds NCS, ICS, Radio Taiga and local radio using Vote 1 and/or Vote 4 funding	H	M	- Increase funding	H	M	- See Figure 7.1 A5 Option 2	H	M/H	- See Figure 7.1 A5 Option 3 - Increase funding - Use languages board and secretariat to identify appropriate long-term communications strategies	H H H	M/H M L
I.2. Media owned and operated by language community	- Radio Taiga owned by French community - NCS, IRC and local radio Aboriginal-owned - APTN Aboriginal-owned - Some newspapers & newsletters owned by Aboriginal and French	M	L	- Use and support existing language community media (print, radio, TV and electronic)	M	L	- Use and support existing language community media (print, radio, TV and electronic)	M	L	- Use and support existing language community media (print, radio, TV and electronic)	M	L
I.3. Assist in technology adaptation for orthographies	- No technology services currently available to language communities - Currently available for French - Limited use within GNWT of Aboriginal font software	L	L	- See Figure 7.8 H 1 Option 1 - GNWT to incorporate Aboriginal font software adaptation (PC and Mac) on web site	H	L	- See Figure 7.1 A5 Option 2	H	M/H	- See Figure 7.1 A5 Option 3	H	M/H
I.4 Support for media and technology training	- Media training in larger centres	L	L	- Continue media training in larger centres - GNWT to incorporate Aboriginal media and technology training information on web site - See Figure 7.8 H 1 Option 1	H	L	- See Figure 7.1 A5 Option 2	H	M/H	- See Figure 7.1 A5 Option 3	H	M/H

CHAPTER 8

DOING THE RIGHT THING AND DOING THINGS RIGHT: A VISION FOR OFFICIAL LANGUAGES IN THE NWT

Introduction and Purpose

In the spring of 2001, the Special Committee was mandated to review the objectives, provisions, and implementation of the NWT *Official Languages Act* and other *Acts* that 'have reference to the Official Languages of the NWT.' The Committee was asked to provide the Legislative Assembly with a final report, with recommendations regarding changes to the objectives and provisions of the *Act*, changes to current and related policies, and the implication of these changes with respect to other legislation. The purpose of this chapter is to present a shared vision for our official languages along with the Committee's recommendations for change and a plan to move toward that vision.

In making its recommendations, the Special Committee is aware that the scope of change being proposed will require that some existing funding be reallocated and that new funding will have to be found. The scope of change will also challenge the Legislative Assembly, government departments, Aboriginal governments, and the Government of Canada to recommit to our official languages, finding new ways to work together for the good of our northern society. The Committee recognizes that these challenges take place in the face of rising needs and demands for increased funding for health, social services, education and training, housing, local government, economic development, and other core services. The Committee has made a concerted effort to justify new language investments.

The Special Committee is also aware that implementing the recommendations in this report requires a change in attitude within our society about the use of the Aboriginal and French languages within our communities, schools, businesses, and institutions. Our recommendations call for a new effort to support bilingual regions within the NWT, which will establish the base for a multilingual northern society, consistent with our history and our current socio-cultural fabric. To accomplish this, we have to collectively create more 'social space' in the NWT for all the official languages. The Committee believes that initiatives aimed at increasing the use of the Aboriginal and French languages will be more successful where a broad consensus and commitment among all northerners on the urgent need for these initiatives has been reached. This collective commitment appears to have been missing over the past few years, in spite of the good intent of official languages legislation.

To build consensus and commitment, this chapter begins by presenting a collective vision for official languages, rooted in the belief that our languages are valuable resources that can contribute to our overall social well-being. The Committee's vision for official languages is not entirely new, but builds upon and respects the vision of the NWT's language communities as expressed in the Task Force on Aboriginal Languages (1986) report; the Preamble to the *Official Languages Act* (1990); francophone planning documents; Aboriginal language community plans; and, for many years, by elders.

This chapter then presents a comprehensive set of recommendations, emphasizing legislative, administrative, and program/service delivery changes. The recommendations lay the groundwork for the chapter's final section: an implementation and investment schedule. Overall, the recommendation and implementation schedule focuses on doing the right things well, and reflects on changing roles and relationships, practical and effective investment choices, measurable outcomes, and accountability.

A Shared Vision for Official Languages in the NWT

> *Through community hearings, public consultations, meetings and workshops, the Task Force recognized a common vision on the part of the people it heard from. This vision includes greater use of the aboriginal languages throughout northern society, with bilingual language regions where the local aboriginal language would be used equally with English/French. (Task Force on Aboriginal Languages, 1986, p. 2)*
>
> *The important thing is to ensure the continuity of the French culture in the Northwest Territories ... The French fact must be assured of solid recognition and continuous development. (Perreault, 1989, p. 120)*
>
> *Aboriginal people in the Northwest Territories want to be able to use their language on an everyday basis. They want their languages to be spoken in the home and in the community; they want their languages to be taught in their schools; and they want government programs and services to be accessible in their languages. (ECE, 2001d, p. 1)*

Preface to the Vision

The *Official Languages Act* establishes the NWT as a multilingual territory. This status is consistent with its historical and contemporary context: the Aboriginal languages have been spoken in this geographic area since time immemorial and French and English have been active working languages for over two hundred years. Bilingualism and multilingualism, particularly within the Aboriginal and francophone communities, have been very common throughout the past century. This vision for the next 25 years, therefore, acknowledges, celebrates, and expresses the desire to maintain and enhance our rich, historic, multilingual fabric and is rooted in the belief that our linguistic diversity provides significant socio-cultural, environmental, and economic benefits for all citizens. Further, this vision acknowledges past explicit policies of governments to assimilate, resulting in significant loss of language and cultural practices. The vision supports the recognition of historic losses and injustices, while acknowledging the primary role of language communities in all revitalization initiatives. This vision respects the constitutional protection that exists for French and English language minorities and the inherent right of Aboriginal peoples to conclude regional self-government agreements that include language and cultural provisions.

Finally, this vision recognizes that language revitalization initiatives are only effective to the extent that they promote and support increased functional and fluent use of the language within the home, school, and community. All of our efforts must lead toward an increase in the functional use of our official languages — particularly in the home, between elders, parents, and children — because multigenerational language transmission is fundamental to language preservation and revitalization.

A Future Vision for Our Official Languages

Over the next 25 years, we see a future where our citizens embrace the multilingual, multicultural fabric of our territories and commit themselves — personally, professionally, and collectively — to maintaining and nurturing our diverse and dynamic characteristics as a northern society. We recognize the inherent right of Aboriginal peoples to maintain and promote their languages and cultures within their own homelands. English and French speakers maintain their constitutional protection throughout the territories and also have the opportunity and support to learn the language and culture of our indigenous peoples.

Children access pre-school programming in their traditional language. French first-language schools expand into new areas as the francophone population increases. Aboriginal first language schooling is available where parents request it, particularly throughout the elementary grades. All schooling in Aboriginal homelands includes a minimum number of hours of instruction in the local language, for all children, including non-Aboriginal children. Classes are taught by certified language instructors, following approved culture and language-based curricula and with quality materials. Measures are in place to assess fluency and literacy levels. Classroom activities are supplemented by excursions to the land, where elders teach traditional knowledge, skills, and values.

Second-language instructional materials and courses are made available to parents who do not speak their indigenous language — these materials complement the school programs and ensure that language skills learned at schools are reinforced at home. Youth can take accredited courses in French and/or the Aboriginal language of their region throughout high school. Many NWT students graduate with bilingual language abilities.

Over time, the decline in Aboriginal and French language use throughout the territory is slowly halted and then begins to reverse itself — the languages become stronger as fluency and literacy rates rise among children and youth. Young parents begin to raise their children in their traditional language, with the children's language skills reinforced throughout the community and within the school system.

Residents see and hear evidence of their language and culture — in signs, newspapers or newsletters; on television and radio; at ceremonies, gatherings, and meetings; and in computer programs, literature, and other common media and events. Front line service providers are, to the greatest extent possible, bilingual. Where this is not possible, residents can either access services through one-window service centres or through certified interpreter/translators. Bilingual and multilingual programming and service delivery become common occurrences throughout the NWT.

The traditional economy is strong and respected, and people continue to maintain a strong spiritual and cultural connection to the land. Traditional knowledge is fully utilized in all land use planning and resource management activities by government and industry. The history of the land is captured and shared among all NWT citizens through the continued use of traditional place names. Spiritual and other special sites are documented and protected, and the stories and beliefs associated with these sites, along with other legends and stories, are taught to youth in their indigenous language.

Many Aboriginal adults are employed directly in the language field, while others use their bilingual skills to enhance program or service delivery in many other fields. Government departments incorporate cultural concepts at all levels of their management and delivery systems. In the Legislative Assembly and at senior levels of government, all official languages are spoken on a regular basis, as a statement of pride and conscience, and also as working languages when addressing regional concerns and issues. The language communities play an essential role in the planning, implementation, and evaluation of all official languages programming and services.

Language- and culture-based businesses thrive in all regions of the NWT and have the support of funding agencies. Within Aboriginal homelands, entrepreneurs produce language materials and provide language services on a contractual basis to government and industry. Eco- and cultural-tourism, with a strong cultural and language component, flourishes. The French business community also provides cultural and tourism products and services, partnering with Aboriginal businesses where possible, attracting French-speaking tourists from around the world.

Through the interchange of information, knowledge, beliefs, and practices, we collectively broaden and deepen our understanding of the human condition. We are able to identify, develop, and implement a range of creative and culturally-rich approaches to address social, political, and economic issues, while nurturing tolerant, supportive, and respectful relationships among all of our diverse language groups.

Our collective recognition of the value of Aboriginal language and culture for all citizens, and our efforts to recognize past injustices form the basis for secure and mutually beneficial cultural relationships in the years ahead. Children are proud of their heritage and equally proud to speak their language within their families, to their friends, within our schools, and throughout our communities.

The First Steps: Defining Roles and Changing Relationships

Achieving this vision will certainly be challenging. It will require shared leadership and accountability. All levels of government will have an essential role to play, along with many other NWT agencies, and the role of the GNWT will undergo a fundamental change.

The Special Committee believes that the GNWT must significantly raise the status and involvement of the language communities in policy development and program and service decisions that directly affect them. The concept of 'horizontality' must be incorporated into the language management regime. Language communities need to be firmly within the loop of accountability with respect to GNWT language activities. At the grassroots level, the language communities must exercise greater influence over the design and delivery of language initiatives because they best understand the needs of their citizens and are the inherent 'owners' of their respective languages. The extent to which these communities actively promote and support language revitalization activities depends on community and regional leadership. Local leadership must view language revitalization as a priority for it to be successful.

The role and responsibilities of other agencies must also change. It is reasonable for all agencies to provide their residents with services in the official languages indigenous or applicable to the area. The federal government, municipal governments, businesses and NGOs working at the community level should seriously consider the value of using interpretation services or bilingual employees, particularly where sensitive or critical issues are being discussed. At this time, the Special Committee does not go as far as to support legislated service delivery in the official languages by municipal governments or the private sector, but does call on these agencies to respect the language needs of their clientele and the spirit and intent of the *OLA*. We must all find ways to incorporate our official languages into our daily activities, as a fundamental and beneficial component of 'doing business' in the NWT.

We must all find ways to incorporate our official languages into our daily activities, as a fundamental and beneficial component of 'doing business' in the NWT.

A Plan to Value and Revitalize Our Languages and Improve Service Access

In order to fulfill our mandate as the Special Committee on the Review of the *Official Languages Act*, we, the members of the Committee, present the following recommendations. These recommendations are presented in two parts. The first part is the recommendations for change as chosen and modified from the range of options presented in Chapter 7. The second part presents a detailed implementation and investment schedule, with essential work phases, timelines, and cost of investment. In this latter part, we suggest the government establish an implementation task force as a means to carry out the recommendations in an efficient and timely manner.

The Preferred Option: Recommendations for Change

We have grouped our recommendations using the main categories from the options matrix in Chapter 7. Our recommendations are derived from this matrix, but blend the options presented and represent the preferred combination of benefit and cost, based on our overall research and deliberations. Many of these recommendations are interdependent, so care must be taken to coordinate their implementation.

A. To clarify and strengthen official languages legislation and policy, we recommend that:

A1. The current version of the *OLA* be updated to remove repealed sections and correct spelling, terminology, and translation errors.

A2. Dene terms be used in the *OLA* for North Slavey, South Slavey, Dogrib, and Chipewyan, with the advice and consent of the affected language communities.

A3. North and South Slavey (as such, or using Dene terms) and Inuvialuktun and Inuinnaqtun be listed as separate languages in Section 4 of the *OLA*, and removed from the Interpretation section, with the consent of the affected language communities.

A4. Michif research be funded with the intent of determining an appropriate designation for this language.

A5. The Preamble be amended to recognize the important role of language communities in preserving and developing their own languages and to acknowledge shared responsibility for language enhancement.

A6. Section 14 of the *OLA* be clarified and defined through a combination of regulation and policy. Regulations be established for service delivery relating to occupational health and safety, health, and social services. Other services be defined through policy rather than guidelines.

A7. Departments and agencies required to comply with the *OLA* be listed in regulations, along with provisions for compliance where these services are being provided by other agencies.

A8. The *OLA* designate a Minister responsible, with the authority to implement the *Act* and the obligation to submit an annual official languages report to the Legislative Assembly.

A9. An Aboriginal Languages Board be legislated through the *OLA* to advise the Minister responsible regarding planning, promotion, coordination, and resource allocation. This Board will provide a legislated accountability link between the language communities and the GNWT.

The terms of reference for this Board — along with its structure, appointment process, consultation functions, and other necessary matters — be established through regulation.

A10. Aboriginal Languages Board members be nominated by their respective language communities, recommended by the Minister responsible, and appointed by the Legislative Assembly.

A11. Concurrent with the establishment of the Aboriginal Languages Board, the broad promotional mandate of the Languages Commissioner be reduced through the repeal of the last phrase in Section 20(1) and Section 20(3) of the *OLA*. The Commissioner's promotional role is transferred to the Minister responsible and the Aboriginal Languages Board. The Commissioner continues to ensure compliance with the strengthened *OLA*.

A12. Sections 19(2) and 19(3) of the *OLA* be repealed, allowing the Office of the Languages Commissioner to be independent of the public service. The Assembly review the Office of the Languages Commissioner to clarify its management systems and administrative support relationships.

A13. A provision be added to the *OLA* to allow for the appointment of an acting Languages Commissioner between appointments or where the Commissioner is otherwise unable to perform his/her functions.

A14. A provision be added to the *OLA* requiring the Legislative Assembly to respond to the Commissioner's annual report within 180 days of the tabling of that report.

A15. The *OLA* provide for recognition of the collective language rights of Aboriginal peoples within their homelands, consistent with current and pending land claims and self-governance agreements.

A16. The *OLA* [Section 29(1)] be amended to require smaller-scale evaluations every five years, beginning in 2008 (concurrent with the release of the 2006 Census Canada language data), to ensure the provisions and implementation of the *OLA* and other official language initiatives are effective.

B. To improve official languages management and accountability, we recommend that:

B1. The Minister responsible consider establishing a small Official Languages Secretariat (OLS) by reprofiling existing resources. The OLS would provide a single point of access regarding official languages matters and a focus for accountability within the GNWT.

The OLS would report directly to the Minister and would carry out the following management and policy functions:

- Liaison with the French and Aboriginal language communities
- Preparation, monitoring, and evaluation of the official languages implementation plan and evaluation framework
- Liaison with the Bureau of Statistics (see B4)
- Negotiation and management of the Canada-NWT Cooperation Agreement
- Management of contribution agreements with the official language communities
- Operational support for the Aboriginal Languages Board
- Operational and leadership support for the establishment of one-window service centres
- Support for the development of official languages regulations and policies
- Intergovernmental relations regarding languages.

B2. The Minister responsible develop a GNWT-wide official languages implementation plan and evaluation/accountability framework, based on the Treasury Board (2001) model, that calls for the identification, gathering, and ongoing analysis of output- and outcome-based data.

B3. The Minister responsible ensure that language communities are fully consulted on the Canada-NWT Cooperation Agreement action plan and evaluation framework.

B4. The Bureau of Statistics be tasked to gather and analyze data from Census Canada, a modified Labour Force Survey, and current sociolinguistic studies, and incorporate this data into a language report every five years, beginning in 2003 with the release of the 2001 Census Canada language data.

C. To ensure effective and adequate financing, we recommend that:

C1. The Minister responsible for the *OLA* ensure that all funding allocated for official languages be used for that purpose.

C2. Funding for official languages initiatives be increased as required to implement the recommendations contained in this report.

C3. The Minister responsible take steps to ensure that the Canada-NWT Cooperation Agreement is maintained and maximizes federal participation.

C4. The GNWT enter into multi-year, flexible-funding agreements with the language communities to provide more certainty and program stability, with appropriate accountability mechanisms.

C5. The GNWT support language community initiatives to generate other sources of language revenue, including endowment funds and business activities that support language enhancement.

D. To enhance official language service delivery, we recommend that:

D1. 'Active offer' with respect to occupational health and safety, and health and social services be defined through regulations, and through policy for all other services.

D2. The Minister responsible ensure that all departments and agencies properly implement active offer, with procedures and measures for tracking demand and service delivery.

D3. The GNWT evaluate the bilingual bonus directive, with the intent of prioritizing and increasing the number of bilingual positions for front-line service delivery.

D4. The Minister responsible work with stakeholders to provide communities with cost-effective access to basic translation equipment for government, industry, and public information meetings and gatherings.

D5. The Minister responsible work with the federal government and francophone community to support the establishment of a pilot French language service centre for Yellowknife. This centre would provide one-window access to government services in French and would include a 1-800 line for outlying communities.

D6. The Minister responsible consult with the Aboriginal language communities and the Aboriginal Languages Board regarding the possible establishment of a pilot Aboriginal language service centre.

D7. The Minister responsible evaluate the pilot service centres after two years to determine their viability and make recommendations accordingly.

D8. The Official Languages Secretariat publish an updated public registry of French and Aboriginal language interpreter/translators.

E. To build human resource capacity in the official languages, we recommend that:

E1. The Minister responsible work with the Aboriginal language communities to expand the development of regional and/or territorial certification standards for interpreter/translators and provide I/T training in regions. The initial focus be on health, social services, justice, and other regional priorities. Training is tied to forecasted employment and business opportunities arising from increased official languages service delivery.

E2. The Minister of ECE consolidate and increase the regional delivery of Aboriginal language instructor training according to standards set jointly by the language communities and ECE. Training is tied to forecasted employment opportunities arising from a strengthening of Aboriginal language provisions in the *Education Act* (1995).

E3. The Minister of ECE develop an Aboriginal second-language curriculum for adults and promote and support language training for GNWT employees, parents, and other interested adults.

E4. The Minister responsible and the Minister of ECE meet with Aurora College, Aboriginal language communities, and cultural institutes to review the development and delivery of I/T, language instructor, and adult language training, to improve cost-effectiveness and the overall success rate.

E5. Aurora College and other public agencies providing language training submit an annual report of their activities to the Minister responsible and the Aboriginal Languages Board.

F. To support research and development for official languages, we recommend that:

F1. The Minister responsible work closely with the Aboriginal language communities, the respective cultural institutes, and Elders' Councils to identify terminology needs, fund terminology development, and establish regionally-endorsed terminology approval processes.

F2. The Minister responsible work closely with the Aboriginal language communities and cultural institutes to establish a coordinated cataloguing and distribution process for Aboriginal language resource materials.

F3. The Oral Traditions (now Cultural Projects) and Geographic Place Names programs be evaluated and considered for increased funding.

G. To increase and improve Aboriginal language education, we recommend that:

G1. The Minister of ECE issue a Ministerial Directive requiring education authorities to use Aboriginal language funding for the purposes intended. This Directive is a necessary first step in improving Aboriginal language programming in the schools.

G2. The Minister of ECE clarify interpretation and strengthen implementation of Section 73.3 of the *Education Act* (1995), which directs education authorities to provide Aboriginal language instruction.

G3. The Minister of ECE issue a Ministerial Directive regarding the minimum number of instructional hours for Aboriginal languages. This Directive strengthens the provision of Section 73.3 of the *Education Act* (1995). Minimum hours of instruction would subsequently be addressed through regulations, consistent with other subject areas.

G4. The Minister of ECE amend the *Education Act* (1995) to rebalance the authority of the Minister and education authorities with respect to Aboriginal language programming to improve accountability.

G5. The Minister of ECE oversee the development of a comprehensive Aboriginal language arts curriculum in consultation and cooperation with the language communities and education authorities.

G6. The Minister of ECE oversee the development of early childhood immersion programming in consultation and cooperation with language communities and education authorities.

G7. The Minister of ECE work closely with the Aboriginal language communities, College, and other agencies to actively recruit, train, and certify Aboriginal language instructors and teachers. This task would include a review of pay scales and training/recruitment incentives.

G8. The Minister of ECE prepare a strategic plan for Aboriginal languages in education, early childhood through grade 12, including the introduction of Aboriginal language instruction in core subject areas. This plan would include partnerships with language communities and the need to link language development in the school and at home.

G9. The Minister of ECE amend the *Education Act* (1995) to grant Aboriginal parents the right to petition for Aboriginal immersion schooling, beginning at the primary level, within their language homelands (see A15), and where numbers warrant.

G10. The Minister of ECE work with the education authorities to increase the role and capacity of TLCs to develop resource materials and to enhance partnerships with language communities.

G11. The Minister of ECE submit an annual report on the status of curriculum development and Aboriginal language education to the Legislative Assembly and the Aboriginal Languages Board.

H. To promote official languages, we recommend that:

H1. The Minister responsible develop an Aboriginal language social-marketing plan in consultation with the language communities, to be implemented jointly by the Minister and the language communities. The Aboriginal Languages Board, once established, would play a lead role in ongoing language promotion activities.

H2. The Minister responsible provide support to the French language community to develop and implement a social-marketing plan.

H3. Community leaders and other prominent role models take responsibility for using their traditional languages wherever possible.

H4. The Minister responsible and language communities encourage the federal government, industry, and other agencies to use and profile the Aboriginal and French languages, particularly in regions and areas where the languages are commonly used.

H5. The Minister responsible increase funding for promotional activities targeting youth.

H6. The GNWT promote and offer cross-cultural and language training for staff as an orientation and professional development activity.

I. To increase the use of official languages in media and technology, we recommend that:

I1. The GNWT expand its support for, and utilization of, Aboriginal and French language media, along with support for other communication initiatives, including the use of the internet, digital technology, and emerging media technologies.

I2. The Minister of ECE and other agencies support media and technology training for Aboriginal language speakers through scholarships and other incentives.

I3. The Minister responsible ensure current Aboriginal language fonts are available to GNWT staff and encourage their use. The use of these fonts becomes more important as Aboriginal organizations and communities increasingly adopt traditional place names incorporating specialized fonts.

I4. The Minister responsible assist Aboriginal language communities to incorporate Aboriginal language fonts on specialized software applications (such as GIS programs) and address other technical issues, as needed, to support the use of Aboriginal languages in a wide range of technical applications.

J. To ensure that the recommendations and implementation/costing schedule proposed in this report are advanced, we further recommend that:

J1. The Premier appoint a Minister responsible for the *OLA* within 60 days of the acceptance of this report by the Legislative Assembly.

J2. The Government introduce the proposed Bill to Amend the *Official Languages Act* during the term of the current Assembly.

J3. The Minister responsible report to the Legislative Assembly within one year of the acceptance of this report. This report will address:

- The status and progress of the implementation of the recommendations
- The status of the Canada-NWT Cooperation Agreement
- Business plans and budgetary provisions for 2004-2005 and beyond.

Implementing the Recommendations

We believe that these recommendations are all practical and achievable, but that they cannot be implemented all at once. We have therefore prepared a preliminary implementation and investment schedule, with cost estimates, to guide the Legislative Assembly in its deliberations on this report and to guide those agencies tasked with implementing these recommendations. Further, we recommend the Legislative Assembly propose that Cabinet establish an Implementation Task Force, possibly made up of senior departmental executives from several of the principally affected departments, to guide preliminary stages of implementation. The Official Languages Secretariat could take over this role once established. Although we do not wish or propose to micro-manage the next steps, we have seen good planning work from the Assembly fail to be implemented adequately. This section consists of two parts: a brief discussion of strategic approaches to financing and a detailed implementation and investment schedule (Figure 8.1).

Planning for Financial Investment: A Strategic Approach

We are very aware of the financial pressures, constraints and competing priorities facing the GNWT. Although many of the recommendations in this report can be supported through reallocation, reprofiling, and proper use of existing funds, new investments are required, particularly in future years (3 to 5 years from now and beyond). We believe that these investments are essential to the long-term social and environmental health of our society and can contribute to the long-term diversification and stability of our economy. For this reason, we have identified a number of approaches to guide new language investments and make existing resources go further.

- Invest in revitalization programs that give long-term outcomes and are cost beneficial. Early childhood and bilingual education are programs where long-term benefits to individuals and society have been documented (Colbourne, 2002).

- Reallocate and reprofile existing funding. For example, the GNWT currently transfers approximately $6.2 million to its school authorities for Aboriginal language education; however, this money is often not spent for its intended purpose (Colbourne, 2002).
- Evaluate existing programming for efficiency and cost-effectiveness. A number of existing programs engage in activities that are high cost but have low benefit. In a teaching and learning centre for example, the production of some materials is costly, but may not be critical materials for the classroom and may not have a proper distribution system.
- Create better linkages among programs and provide for better networking. For example, teaching and learning centres and education authorities could develop much stronger linkages with local language communities to share resources and coordinate home-school language activities.
- Reduce administrative costs by giving language communities multi-year, flexible funding, thereby reducing proposal writing activities and increasing productivity and certainty.
- Encourage cost sharing and partnering with other agencies, including the federal government and industry, to maximize the use of existing language resources.
- Engage in language training activities that provide for certification and employment. Provide support for professionals in the public and private languages field.
- Participate in national and international cooperative efforts that can spread the cost of program and materials development among different jurisdictions.

With respect to Aboriginal language education, which requires significant improvement, we have estimated that more than 50% of the current funding can be realigned and focused to provide for increased and enhanced programming. We recognize that these funds cannot be realigned in one fiscal year, however, so are proposing a phased implementation of our education recommendations.

The Department of Health and Social Services, perennially challenged for resources, should receive long-term benefit from a healthier population. Enhancing official languages services through the introduction of regulations is consistent with the message from the Social Agenda conference and is also consistent with the Primary Health Care concept of easy and appropriate access to health services, which is recognized as one of six key elements of effective health care delivery (Mable & Marriott, 2002, p. v).

These types of considerations, among others, provide justification for new expenditures. As well, we are certain that the language communities, once actively participating in status and corpus planning, will provide clear and practical suggestions for the better use of our limited language resources. Their participation is essential to effective resource management and language revitalization.

The Implementation and Investment Schedule (Figure 8.1)

To ensure that our recommendations are achievable, we went through the difficult exercise of developing an implementation and investment schedule. In developing this schedule, we worked under the following guiding principles:

- Recommend preliminary (Year 1) actions and investments that can be absorbed by existing departmental budgetary resources and allocations
- Spread the start-up of initiatives over a five-year period to focus resources on language priority areas and reflect the government's capacity for change, particularly in the areas of planning, budgeting, allocations, and programming
- Ensure that larger projects have a planning and research phase, consultation phase, and project refinement phase before full implementation — budgets associated with larger projects are refined as they go through each phase of the process (for example, moving from a ball park estimate, plus or minus 30%, to plus or minus 10% at implementation stage)
- Record all assumptions made in developing the implementation and investment schedule in a set of working papers (SCOL, 2002a) for use by budgeting and implementation agencies.

This schedule proposes that all projects planned for Year 1 be funded through internal reallocations within the affected departments. Existing staff would be redeployed to support the projects and some of the work would be expected to be accomplished through the use of consulting contracts. Year 2 anticipates that the implementation plan requirements will be provided for within the affected departments' business plans for the next five years and within prescribed budget targets. The Committee, therefore, does not carry forward its estimation of dollars available for reallocations or estimated incremental costs. The plan, as implemented, will reprofile funds and realign the manner in which the government does business beginning in Year 3 and onwards.

Figure 8.1. Implementation and investment schedule (Source: SCOL)

Plan Element	Year 1 (2003/4) Cost $,000	Year 2 (2004/5) Cost $,000	Year 3 (2005/6) Cost $,000	Year 4 (2006/7) Cost $,000	Future Years or On-going
A: Effective legislation and policy					
A1 - Housekeeping	$00	$00	$00	$00	$00
A2 - Anglicized terms for Dene languages follow-up	$10	$10	$10	$10	
A3 – Listing of languages Section	$00	$00	$00	$00	$00
A4 - Support Michif research and definition	$20	$20	$20	$20	$00
A5 - Revise the Preamble	$00	$00	$00	$00	$00
A6 - Health & social service regulations					
• Consult and develop regulations	$100				
• Implement regs by lang homeland and/or service		$250	$500	$750	$1,000
- Specify rights & service in policy					
• Consult and draft policy	$30	$75			
• Implement by lang homeland and/or service			$100	$125	$125
- Regulate occupational health and safety services					
• Consult and draft policy	$100				
• Implement by lang homeland and/or service		$100	$175	$175	$175
• Develop plan, consult, regulations, delivery	$100	$100	$250	$250	$250
A7 - Develop regs to designate application of Act	$25	$00	$00	$00	$00
- Develop regulations for third party contractors		$50			
• Implement regulations			$100	$100	$100
A8 - Designate Minister & annual reporting	$00				
A9/10/11 - Establish Aboriginal Languages Board					
• Plan, regulations, appointments, operation	$100	$100	$100	$100	$100
A12 - Repeal 19 (2) and 19(3)	$00				
A15 - Strengthen language rights in homelands	$00				
B: Effective Management					
B1 - Official Languages Secretariat (OLS)	$300	$750	$750	$750	$750
B2 - Five year implementation plan for Act					
• Minister to develop plan	$75				
• Plan & proposals to be in budget for 2004/5		$00			
• Plan to report on 2004/5 & proposals for 2005/6			$00	$00	$00

Plan Element	Year 1 (2003/4) Cost $,000	Year 2 (2004/5) Cost $,000	Year 3 (2005/6) Cost $,000	Year 4 (2006/7) Cost $,000	Future Years or On-going
B3 - Consult on Cooperation Agreement & evaluation	$25	$25	$00	$00	$25
B4 - Fund Stats Bureau for socio-linguistic data					
• Definition of data required & design collection	$35				
• Collect data & analyze LFS		$250			
• Contribution to Census Canada data collection		$50	$300	$25	
• On-going definition and involvement		$25	$25	$25	$25
C: Effective Financing					
(C1-5) - Optimize current funds, partner & account	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
- Mandate language program expenditures & increase funds	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
- Optimize expenditure of Vote 4 Coop'n Agree't funds	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
- Establish multi-year funding arrangements	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
- Support partners to invest & to generate new revenues	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
D: Effective Service Delivery					
D2 - Orientation and process to implement active offer		$100	$50	$50	$50
D3 - Bilingual bonus					
• Evaluate, revise and implement frontline job	$20	$20	$0	$0	$0
D4 - Plan, cost & purchase I/T equipment		$10	$40	$40	$40
D5/7 - Pilot & evaluate French service center	$50	$300	$250	$250	$300
D6/7 - Consult, pilot and evaluate Aboriginal service center		$50	$300	$250	$250
D8 - Publish registry of I/Ts	$0	$0	$0	$0	
E: Effective Human Resource Development					
(E1-5) - Graduated & certified training programs					
- Continue I/T certification standards process: all languages		$75	$75	$75	$75
- Offer I/T training on demand, financed by depts. & students		$25	$25	$25	$25
- Develop an Aboriginal second-language curriculum		$75	$50	$50	$50
- Consolidate I/T and language instructor courses	$25	$75	$75	$75	$75
- Aurora College annual report to Ab. Languages Board		$15	$10	$10	$10

Figure 8.1 Implementation and investment schedule (Source: SCOL)

Plan Element	Year 1 (2003/4) Cost $,000	Year 2 (2004/5) Cost $,000	Year 3 (2005/6) Cost $,000	Year 4 (2006/7) Cost $,000	Future Years or On-going
F: Effective Research and Development					
F1- Language standardization & modernization					
- Board to encourage establish't working linguistics c'ttees		$50	$100	$100	$100
- Utilize elders and other local language experts	$00	$00	$00	$00	$00
F2 - Produce & disseminate materials					
- Continue funding material develop't, coord, share, save		$25	$50	$50	$50
- Establish formal cataloguing of materials, maintain			$50	$15	$15
F3 - Evaluate and increase Oral Traditions (now called Cultural Projects) program documentation			$50	$50	$50
F3 - Evaluate and increase Geographic Place Names program funding				$50	$50
G: Effective Aboriginal Languages Education					
G1-4 - Language rights in the education system					
- Directive – Aboriginal language funding accountability	$00				
- Directive – minimum hours of instruction in Ab. languages	$00	$00	$00	$00	$00
- Rebalance DEC/DEA & Ministerial authority by legislation					
• Planning & consultation	$50				
• Introduce amendments to *Education Act*		$50	$25		
• Give budgetary and administrative effect				$00	$00
G5 - Develop curricula & materials					
- Develop & implement Aboriginal language curricula & eval					
• Plan & set up curriculum unit	$50	$400			$200
• Develop & implement curricula			$400	$400	$400
• Produce curricula for all subjects				$400	$400
G6 - Program continuum – Early Childhood to Gr.12					
• Develop plan for continuum, consult		$50			
• Develop EC program, pilot, evaluate, implement			$50	$150	$200
• Develop bilingual K-12 program					$200
• Develop Aboriginal immersion program for each community					$50

Plan Element	Year 1 (2003/4) Cost $,000	Year 2 (2004/5) Cost $,000	Year 3 (2005/6) Cost $,000	Year 4 (2006/7) Cost $,000	Future Years or On-going
G7 - Trains, certifies, supports language teachers					
- Active recruitment & retention strategy	$25	$50	$200	$200	$200
- Offers a full range of incentives for Ab. teacher training		$50	$200	$400	$400
G8 - Strategic Plan for Ab. languages in education					
- Develop strategic plan, maintain & evaluate	$25	$50			
G9 - Legislation – right to petition for language of instruction					
• Planning & consultation	$25				
• Introduce amendments to *Education Act*		$25	$25		
• Develop regulations, provide for one homeland/yr			$150	$500	$1,000
G10 - Increase role and capacity of TLCs					
- TLCs increased role in education & with lang communities			$300	$450	$600
G11 - Minister's report on each language curriculum & results		$50	$50	$50	$50
H: Effective Promotion					
H1 - Existing funds for social marketing		$50	$00	$00	$00
H2 - Provide support to French community for social marketing		$15	$15	$15	$15
H3 - Encourage leaders & role models to use off'l languages	$00	$00	$00	$00	$00
H4 - Encourage business & NGOs to use off'l languages	$00	$00	$00	$00	$00
H5 - Increase funds to promote culture among youth		$15	$15	$15	$15
H6 - Promote and offer cross-cultural training for staff		$15	$15	$15	$15
I: Effective Media & Technology					
I1 – Assistance to languages community-owned media		$25	$50	$50	$50
I2 - Support media and technology training		$25	$50	$50	$50
I3 & I4 - Assist in technology adaptation for orthographies		$25	$50	$50	$25
ESTIMATED PLAN COSTS	**$1,190**	**$3,520**	**$5,050**	**$6,165**	**$7,560**
ESTIMATED REALLOCATION **AVAILABLE**	**$1,190**	**$2,545**			
TOTAL ESTIMATED **INCREMENTAL COSTS**	**$0**	**$975**			

Conclusion

The Special Committee began this review almost two years ago. As a Committee, we began by assembling a few staff and meeting together to discuss language revitalization issues and the tasks we wanted to accomplish. We then visited communities and hosted public hearings to gather the views of people from all of our language communities regarding the *Official Languages Act* and the changes necessary to make the *OLA* more effective. At the same time, we reviewed the history of our languages and language policy. We reviewed the state of our languages. We examined expert opinions on language revitalization efforts and successes around the world. Based upon this examination, we developed a language revitalization framework that guided our review of existing programs and services and the development of a comprehensive set of proposals for change. We observed where changes had to be made, gaps had to be filled, and new initiatives had to be taken. We translated this work and your concerns and issues into a new vision for official languages in the NWT. That vision includes healthy and revitalized Aboriginal languages that are valued and actively used in all aspects of community life and a vibrant French speaking community and respect for the equality of status of all of our official languages throughout northern society.

In order to achieve this vision, we have examined the many options available to us and have laid out 65 recommendations for change and included an implementation and investment schedule to show when and how these changes might be made. We have also prepared a draft bill to amend the *Official Languages Act* which is the legal framework for carrying the shared vision forward.

The members of the Special Committee acknowledge and are grateful for the support we received to develop a plan that is meaningful and practical. The plan calls upon every member of our northern society to care for and respect our languages and our cultures. We recognize that the NWT faces enormous and unique challenges as we strive to preserve and revitalize our official languages and ensure that these languages continue to contribute to a healthy and sustainable society. We are one of only a few homelands to many of these languages, and we should be proud of the historic, current, and future value and benefits these languages bring to us all. The vision is clear and the challenges are many. We must accept them with enthusiasm.

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APPENDIX A

OFFICIAL LANGUAGES ACT
OF THE NWT

CONSOLIDATION OF OFFICIAL LANGUAGES ACT

R.S.N.W.T. 1988,c.O-1

AS AMENDED BY

R.S.N.W.T. 1988,c.56(Supp.)
All provisions of the amendment in force 31/12/90 except:
Subsection 12(2): In force 31/12/92
Subsection 11(2): In force 31/12/93
R.S.N.W.T. 1988,c.78(Supp.)
R.S.N.W.T. 1988,c.125(Supp.)
S.N.W.T. 1991-92,c.8.

This consolidation is not an official statement of the law. It is an office consolidation prepared by Legislation Division, Department of Justice, for convenience only. The authoritative text of statutes can be ascertained from the *Revised Statutes of the Northwest Territories, 1988* and the Annual Volumes of the Statutes of the Northwest Territories.

Any certified Bills not yet included in the Annual Volumes can be obtained through the Office of the Clerk of the Legislative Assembly. Copies of this consolidation and other Government of the Northwest Territories publications can be obtained at the following address:

Canarctic Graphics
5102-50th Street
Yellowknife NT X1A 2R1
Telephone: (867) 873-5924
Fax: (867) 920-4371

CODIFICATION ADMINISTRATIVE DE LA LOI SUR LES LANGUES OFFICIELLES

L.R.T.N.-O. 1988, ch. O-1

MODIFIÉE PAR

L.R.T.N.-O. 1988, ch. 56 (Suppl.)
Toutes les dispositions de la modification sont en vigueur le 31 décembre 1990, à l'exception du :
paragraphe 12(2): En vigueur le 31 décembre 1992
paragraphe 11(2): En vigueur le 31 décembre 1993
L.R.T.N.-O. 1988, ch. 78 (Suppl.)
L.R.T.N.-O. 1988, ch. 125 (Suppl.)
L.T.N.-O. 1991-1992, ch. 8.

La présente codification administrative ne constitue pas le texte officiel de la loi; elle n'est établie qu'à titre documentaire par les Affaires législatives du ministère de la Justice. Seules les lois contenues dans les *Lois révisées des Territoires du Nord-Ouest (1988)* et dans les volumes annuels des Lois des Territoires du Nord-Ouest ont force de loi.

Les projets de loi certifiés ne figurant pas dans les volumes annuels peuvent être obtenus en s'adressant au bureau du greffier de l'Assemblée législative. On peut également obtenir des copies de la présente codification et d'autres publications du gouvernement des Territoires du Nord-Ouest en communiquant avec :

Canarctic Graphics
5102, 50e Rue
Yellowknife (NT) X1A 2P2
Téléphone : (867) 873-5924
Télécopieur : (867) 920-4371

OFFICIAL LANGUAGES ACT

Recognizing that the existence of aboriginal peoples, centred in the Territories from time immemorial, but also present elsewhere in Canada, constitutes a fundamental characteristic of Canada;

Recognizing that the existence of aboriginal peoples, speaking aboriginal languages constitutes the Territories a distinct society within Canada;

Recognizing that many languages are spoken and used by the people of the Territories;

Being committed to the preservation, development and enhancement of the aboriginal languages;

Recognizing that the aboriginal languages, being the languages of the aboriginal peoples of the Territories, should be given recognition in law;

Desiring to provide in law for the use of the aboriginal languages in the Territories including the use of the aboriginal languages for all or any of the official purposes of the Territories at the time and in the manner that is appropriate;

Expressing the wish that the aboriginal languages will be entrenched in the Constitution of Canada as Official Languages of the Territories;

Desiring to establish English and French as the Official Languages of the Territories having equality of status and equal rights and privileges as Official Languages;

Believing that the legal protection of languages will assist in preserving the culture of the people as expressed through their language;

Desiring that all linguistic groups in the Territories should, without regard to their first language learned, have equal opportunities to obtain employment and participate in the institutions of the Legislative Assembly and Government of the Territories, with due regard to the principle of selection of personnel according to merit;

The Commissioner of the Northwest Territories, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Assembly, enacts as follows: R.S.N.W.T.

LOI SUR LES LANGUES OFFICIELLES

Reconnaissant que l'existence d'autochtones, concentrés dans les territoires depuis des temps immémoriaux, mais également présents ailleurs au Canada, constitue une caractéristique fondamentale du Canada;

reconnaissant que l'existence d'autochtones parlant des langues autochtones fait des territoires une société distincte au sein du Canada;

reconnaissant que plusieurs langues sont parlées et utilisées par les habitants des territoires;

s'étant engagé à préserver, à développer et à accroître l'usage des langues autochtones;

reconnaissant que ces langues, parlées par les autochtones des territoires, devraient être reconnues en droit;

désirant prévoir en droit, notamment pour tout ce qui relève officiellement des territoires, l'usage de ces langues dans ces derniers au moment et de la façon appropriés;

exprimant le désir que ces langues soient reconnues par la Constitution du Canada comme langues officielles des territoires;

désirant établir le français et l'anglais langues officielles des territoires, et les doter d'un statut, de droits et de privilèges égaux;

croyant que la protection légale des langues en tant que mode d'expression favorisera le maintien de la culture des habitants des territoires;

désirant que tous les groupes linguistiques des territoires puissent, sans égard à leur langue première, avoir les mêmes chances d'obtenir des emplois et de participer aux institutions de l'Assemblée législative et du gouvernement des territoires, compte tenu du principe de la sélection du personnel selon le mérite;

Le commissaire des Territoires du Nord-Ouest, sur l'avis et avec le consentement de l'assemblée législative, édicte : L.R.T.N.-O. 1988, ch. 56 (Suppl.).

1988,c.56 (Supp.),s.2,21.

INTERPRETATION

Definitions

1. In this Act,

"Inuktitut" includes Inuvialuktun and Inuinnaqtun; (*inuktitut*)

"Official Languages" means the languages referred to in section 4; (*langues officielles*)

"Slavey" includes North Slavey and South Slavey. (*Esclave*)
R.S.N.W.T. 1988,c.56(Supp.),s.3; c.125(Supp.),s.4.

Continuation of existing rights or privileges

2. Nothing in this Act abrogates or derogates from any legal or customary right or privilege acquired or enjoyed either before or after the coming into force of this Act with respect to any language that is not English or French.

Municipalities and settlements

3. For the purposes of this Act, a municipality or settlement or the council of a municipality or settlement shall not be construed to be an institution of the Legislative Assembly or Government of the Northwest Territories.

PART I

OFFICIAL LANGUAGES

Official Languages

4. Chipewyan, Cree, Dogrib, English, French, Gwich'in, Inuktitut and Slavey are the Official Languages of the Territories.
R.S.N.W.T. 1988,c.56(Supp.),s.4.

5. Repealed, R.S.N.W.T. 1988,c.56(Supp.),s.5.

6. Repealed, R.S.N.W.T. 1988,c.56(Supp.),s.5.

7. Repealed, R.S.N.W.T. 1988,c.125(Supp.),s.4.

Official Languages of the Territories

8. (1) To the extent and in the manner provided in this Act and any regulations under this Act, the Official Languages of the Territories have equality of status and equal rights and privileges as to their use in all institutions of the Legislative Assembly and Government of the Territories.

art. 2.

DÉFINITIONS

Définitions

1. Les définitions qui suivent s'appliquent à la présente loi.

«Esclave» Sont assimilés à l'Esclave l'Esclave du Nord et l'Esclave du Sud. (*Slavey*)

«inuktitut» Sont assimilés à l'inuktitut l'inuvialukton et l'inuinnaqton. (*Inuktitut*)

«langues officielles» Les langues mentionnées à l'article 4. (*official languages*)
L.R.T.N.-O. 1988, ch. 56 (Suppl.), art. 3; ch. 125 (Suppl.), art. 4.

Maintien des droits et privilèges des autres langues

2. La présente loi ne porte pas atteinte aux droits et privilèges, antérieurs ou postérieurs à l'entrée en vigueur de la présente loi et découlant de la loi ou de la coutume, des langues autres que le français et l'anglais.

Municipalités et localités

3. Pour l'application de la présente loi, les municipalités, localités ou conseils de municipalité ou de localités ne peuvent être assimilés aux institutions de l'Assemblée législative ou du gouvernement des territoires.

PARTIE I

LANGUES OFFICIELLES

Langues officielles

4. Les langues suivantes sont les langues officielles des territoires : anglais, Chipewyan, cri, Esclave, dogrib, français, Gwich'in et inuktitut. L.R.T.N.-O. 1988, ch. 56 (Suppl.), art. 4.

5. Abrogé, L.R.T.N.-O. 1988, ch. 56 (Suppl.), art. 5.

6. Abrogé, L.R.T.N.-O. 1988, ch. 56 (Suppl.), art. 5.

7. Abrogé, L.R.T.N.-O. 1988, ch. 125(Suppl.), art.4.

Langues officielles des territoires

8. (1) Les langues officielles ont, dans la mesure et de la manière prévues par la présente loi et ses règlements d'application, un statut et des droits et privilèges égaux quant à leur usage dans les institutions de l'Assemblée législative et du gouvernement des Territoires du Nord-Ouest.

(2) **Repealed, R.S.N.W.T. 1988,c.56 (Supp.),s.6; c.125 (Supp.),s.4.**

Proceedings of Legislative Assembly

9. Everyone has the right to use any Official Language in the debates and other proceedings of the Legislative Assembly. R.S.N.W.T. 1988,c.56(Supp.), s.7.

Acts, records and journals

10. (1) Acts of the Legislature and records and journals of the Legislative Assembly shall be printed and published in English and French and both language versions are equally authoritative.

Other languages

(2) The Commissioner in Executive Council may prescribe that a translation of any Act shall be made after enactment and be printed and published in one or more of the Official Languages in addition to English and French.

Recordings of debates

(3) Copies of the sound recordings of the public debates of the Legislative Assembly, in their original and interpreted versions, shall be provided to any person on reasonable request. R.S.N.W.T. 1988,c.56 (Supp.),s.8.

Instruments directed to public

11. Subject to this Act, all instruments in writing directed to or intended for the notice of the public, purporting to be made or issued by or under the authority of the Legislature or Government of the Northwest Territories or any judicial, quasi-judicial or administrative body or Crown corporation established by or under an Act, shall be promulgated in both Official Languages and in such other Official Languages as may be prescribed by regulation. R.S.N.W.T. 1988,c.56(Supp.),s.9,21.

Proceedings in courts

12. (1) Either English or French may be used by any person in, or in any pleading in or process issuing from, any court established by the Legislature.

Proceedings in courts

(2) Chipewyan, Cree, Dogrib, Gwich'in, Inuktitut and Slavey may be used by any person in any court established by the Commissioner acting by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Assembly.

Interpretation for the public

(3) A court may, in any proceedings conducted before it, cause facilities to be made available for the simultaneous interpretation of the proceedings, including evidence given and taken, from one Official Language into another where it considers the

(2) **Abrogé, L.R.T.N.-O. 1988, ch. 56 (Suppl.), art. 6; ch. 125 (Suppl.), art. 4.**

Travaux de l'Assemblée législative

9. Chacun a le droit d'employer l'une quelconque des langues officielles dans les débats et travaux de l'Assemblée législative. L.R.T.N.-O. 1988, ch. 56 (Suppl.), art. 7.

Documents de l'Assemblée législative

10. (1) Les lois promulguées par la Législature ainsi que les archives, comptes rendus et procès-verbaux de l'Assemblée législative sont imprimés et publiés en français et en anglais, les deux versions des lois ayant également force de loi et celles des autres documents ayant même valeur.

Autres langues

(2) Le commissaire en conseil peut prescrire qu'une loi soit traduite après sa promulgation et qu'elle soit imprimée et publiée dans une ou plusieurs des langues officielles en plus du français et de l'anglais.

Enregistrement des débats

(3) Une copie de l'enregistrement sonore des débats publics de l'Assemblée législative, dans sa version originale et traduite, est fournie à toute personne qui présente une demande raisonnable en ce sens. L.R.T.N.-O. 1988, ch. 56 (Suppl.), art. 8.

Actes écrits destinés au public

11. Sous réserve des autres dispositions de la présente loi, sont établis en français ou en anglais et dans toute autre langue officielle désignée par les règlements les actes écrits qui s'adressent au public et qui sont censés émaner de la Législature ou du gouvernement des Territoires du Nord-Ouest, ou d'un organisme judiciaire, quasi judiciaire ou administratif, ou d'une société d'État, créés sous le régime d'une loi. L.R.T.N.-O. 1988, ch. 56 (Suppl.), art. 9.

Procédure devant les tribunaux

12. (1) Chacun a le droit d'employer le français ou l'anglais dans toutes les affaires dont sont saisis les tribunaux établis par la Législature et dans les actes de procédure qui en découlent.

Procédures devant les tribunaux

(2) Chacun a le droit d'employer le Chipewyan, le cri, le dogrib, le Gwich'in, l'inuktitut et l'Esclave devant les tribunaux établis par le commissaire agissant sur l'avis et avec le consentement de l'Assemblée législative.

Interprétation simultanée

(3) Un tribunal peut, à l'occasion des débats qui se déroulent devant lui, prendre des mesures pour que des installations soient disponibles en vue de l'interprétation simultanée de ces débats, y compris les témoignages recueillis, d'une langue officielle à

proceedings to be of general public interest or importance or where it otherwise considers it desirable to do so for members of the public in attendance at the proceedings. R.S.N.W.T. 1988, c.56(Supp.),s.10.

Decisions, orders and judgments

13. (1) All final decisions, orders and judgments, including any reasons given for them, issued by any judicial or quasi-judicial body established by or under an Act shall be issued in both English and French where

(a) the decision, order or judgment determines a question of law of general public interest or importance; or
(b) the proceedings leading to the issue of the decision, order or judgment were conducted in whole or in part in both English and French.

Delay in issuing one version

(2) Where a body by which a final decision, order or judgment including any reasons given for it is to be issued in both English and French under subsection (1) is of the opinion that to issue it in both English and French would occasion a delay

(a) prejudicial to the public interest, or
(b) resulting in injustice or hardship to any party to the proceedings leading to its issue,

the decision, order or judgment, including any reasons given for it, shall be issued in the first instance in its version in one of English or French and after that, within the time that is reasonable in the circumstances, in its version in the other language, each version to be effective from the time the first version is effective.

Oral rendition of decisions not affected

(3) Nothing in subsection (1) or (2) shall be construed as prohibiting the oral rendition or delivery, in one only of the Official Languages, of any decision, order or judgment or any reasons given for it.

Sound recordings

(4) A sound recording of all final decisions, orders and judgments, including any reasons given for them, issued by any judicial or quasi-judicial body established by or under an Act shall be made in one or more of the Official Languages other than English or French and copies of the sound recording shall be made available to any person on reasonable request, where

(a) the decision, order or judgment determines a question of law or general public interest or importance, and
(b) it is practicable to make available that version or versions, and it will advance

une autre lorsqu'il estime que les débats présentent de l'intérêt ou de l'importance pour le public ou que ces mesures sont souhaitables pour le public qui y assiste. L.R.T.N.-O. 1988, ch. 56 (Suppl.), art. 10.

Décisions de justice

13. (1) Les décisions définitives — exposé des motifs compris — d'un organisme judiciaire ou quasi judiciaire établi par une loi ou en conformité avec une loi sont rendues en français et en anglais :

a) si le point de droit en litige présente de l'intérêt ou de l'importance pour le public;
b) lorsque les débats se sont déroulés, en tout ou en partie, dans les deux langues, ou que les actes de procédure ont été, en tout ou en partie, rédigés dans les deux langues.

Retard dans l'établissement d'une version bilingue

(2) Dans les cas où un organisme estime que l'établissement au titre du paragraphe (1) d'une version bilingue entraînerait un retard qui serait préjudiciable à l'intérêt public ou qui causerait une injustice ou un inconvénient grave à une des parties au litige, la décision — exposé des motifs compris — est rendue d'abord en français ou en anglais, puis, dans les meilleurs délais, dans l'autre langue. Elle est exécutoire à la date de prise d'effet de la première version.

Décisions orales

(3) Les paragraphes (1) et (2) n'ont pas pour effet d'interdire le prononcé, dans une seule langue officielle, d'une décision ou de l'exposé des motifs.

Enregistrements sonores

(4) Les décisions définitives — exposé des motifs comprise — d'un organisme judiciaire ou quasi judiciaire établi par une loi ou en comformité avec une loi sont enregistrées sur bande magnétique dans une ou plusieurs des langues officielles autres que le français ou l'anglais. Des copies de l'enregistrement sont fournies à toute personne qui présente une demande raisonnable en ce sens, lorsque :

a) d'une part, la décision en cause tranche un point de droit qui présente de l'intérêt ou de l'importance pour le public;
b) d'autre part, il est possible de fournir la

the general public knowledge of the decision, order or judgment.

Validity not affected

(5) Nothing in subsection (4) shall be construed as affecting the validity of a decision, order or judgment, referred to in subsection (1), (2) or (3).
R.S.N.W.T. 1988,c.56(Supp.),s.11,21.

Communication by public with head, central or other offices

14. (1) Any member of the public in the Territories has the right to communicate with, and to receive available services from, any head or central office of an institution of the Legislative Assembly or the Government of the Northwest Territories in English or French, and has the same right with respect to any other office of any such institution where

(a) there is a significant demand for communications with and services from that office in any such language; or

(b) due to the nature of the office, it is reasonable that communications with and services from that office be available in both English and French.

Communication by public with regional, area or community offices

(2) Any member of the public in the Territories has the right to communicate with, and to receive available services from, any regional, area or community office of an institution of the Legislative Assembly or the Government of the Territories in an Official Language, other than English or French, spoken in that region or community, where

(a) there is a significant demand for communications with and services from that office in any such language; or

(b) due to the nature of the office, it is reasonable that communications with and services from that office be available in such language. R.S.N.W.T. 1988,c.56(Supp.),s.12.

Publication in *Northwest Territories Gazette*

15. (1) Any Act, and any rule, order, regulation, by-law or proclamation required by or under the authority of an Act to be published in the *Northwest Territories Gazette* is of no force or effect if it is not printed and published in both English and French.

Status of previous legislation

(2) Any Act, and any rule, order, regulation, by-law or proclamation required by or under the authority of an Act to be published in the *Northwest Territories Gazette* that is made before December 31,

ou les versions et que la communication de la décision en cause aura pour effet d'accroître la connaissance qu'en a le public.

Validité

(5) Le paragraphe (4) n'a pas pour effet de porter atteinte à la validité des décisions visées aux paragraphes (1), (2) ou (3). L.R.T.N.-O. 1988, ch. 56 (Suppl.), art. 11.

Communication entre le public et les institutions territoriales

14. (1) Le public a, dans les territoires, le droit d'employer le français ou l'anglais pour communiquer avec le siège ou l'administration centrale des institutions de l'Assemblée législative ou du gouvernement des Territoires du Nord-Ouest ou pour en recevoir les services. Il a le même droit à l'égard de tout autre bureau de ces institutions là où, selon le cas :

a) l'emploi du français ou de l'anglais fait l'objet d'une demande importante;

b) l'emploi du français et de l'anglais se justifie par la vocation du bureau.

Communication entre le public et les bureaux régionaux ou locaux

(2) Le public a, dans les territoires, droit d'employer toute autre langue officielle que le français ou l'anglais pour communiquer avec le bureau régional ou local des institutions de l'Assemblée législative ou du gouvernement des territoires ou pour en recevoir les services là où, selon le cas :

a) l'emploi de cette langue fait l'objet d'une demande importante;

b) l'emploi de cette langue se justifie par la vocation du bureau. L.R.T.N.-O. 1988, ch. 56 (Suppl.), art. 12.

Publication dans la *Gazette des Territoires du Nord-Ouest*

15. (1) Les lois, ainsi que les règles, décrets, règlements, règlements administratifs, arrêtés et proclamations astreints, sous le régime d'une loi, à l'obligation de publication dans la *Gazette des Territoires du Nord-Ouest* sont inopérants s'ils ne sont pas imprimés et publiés en français et en anglais.

Lois antérieures

(2) Les lois, ainsi que les règles, décrets, règlements, règlements administratifs, arrêtés et proclamations astreints, sous le régime d'une loi, à l'obligation de publication dans la *Gazette des*

1989, is of no force or effect if it is not printed and published in both English and French before September 30, 1992.

Idem

(3) For greater certainty, before September 30, 1992, no Act, rule, order, regulation, by-law or proclamation made before December 31, 1989, is without force or effect by reason only of its having been printed and published in only one Official Language. R.S.N.W.T. 1988,c.56(Supp.),s.13,21; c.78(Supp.),s.1; 1991-92,c.8,s.1.

16. Repealed, R.S.N.W.T. 1988,c.125(Supp.),s.4.

Rights and services not affected

17. Nothing in this Part shall be construed as preventing the Commissioner, the Legislative Assembly or the Government of the Northwest Territories from granting rights in respect of, or providing services in, any Official Language in addition to the rights and services provided in this Act and the regulations. R.S.N.W.T. 1988,c.56 (Supp.),s.14.

PART II

LANGUAGES COMMISSIONER

Languages Commissioner and appointment

18. (1) There shall be a Languages Commissioner who shall be appointed by the Commissioner under the Seal of the Territories after approval of the appointment by resolution of the Legislative Assembly.

Tenure and removal

(2) The Languages Commissioner holds office during good behaviour for a term of four years, but may be removed by the Commissioner at any time on address of the Legislative Assembly. R.S.N.W.T. 1988,c.56(Supp.),s.15.

Staff

19. (1) Such officers and employees as are necessary for the proper conduct of the work of the office of the Languages Commissioner shall be appointed in the manner authorized by law.

Public Service Act

(2) The officers and employees of the office of the Languages Commissioner appointed under subsection (1) shall be deemed to be persons employed in the public service for the purposes of the *Public Service Act*.

Status of Languages Commissioner

(3) The Languages Commissioner shall rank as and have all the powers of a Deputy Minister of a department. R.S.N.W.T. 1988,c.56(Supp.),s.15.

Territoires du Nord-Ouest et qui ont été promulgués avant le 31 décembre 1989 sont inopérants s'ils ne sont pas imprimés et publiés en français et en anglais avant le 30 september 1992.

Idem

(3) Il demeure entendu que les lois, ainsi que les règles, décrets, règlements, règlements administratifs, arrêtés et proclamations promulgués avant le 31 décembre 1989 ne sont pas inopérants avant le 30 september 1992 du seul fait qu'ils n'ont été imprimés et publiés que dans une langue officielle. L.R.T.N.-O. 1988, ch. 56 (Suppl.), art. 13; ch. 78 (Suppl.), art. 1; 1991-1992, ch. 8, art. 1.

16. Abrogé, L.R.T.N.-O. 1988, ch. 125 (Suppl.), art. 4.

Droits et services non visés

17. La présente partie n'a pas pour effet d'empêcher le commissaire, l'Assemblée législative ou le gouvernement des Territoires du Nord-Ouest d'accorder des droits linguistiques supplémentaires ou d'offrir des services dans une des langues officielles, en plus de ceux prévus par la présente loi et ses règlements. L.R.T.N.-O. 1988, ch. 56 (Suppl.), art. 14.

PARTIE II

COMMISSAIRE AUX LANGUES

Nomination du commissaire aux langues

18. (1) Est institué le poste de commissaire aux langues. Le titulaire est nommé par le commissaire sous le sceau des territoires, après qu'une résolution de l'Assemblée législative approuve sa nomination.

Durée du mandat et révocation

(2) Le commissaire aux langues est nommé à titre inamovible pour un mandat de quatre ans, sauf révocation par le commissaire sur adresse de l'Assemblée législative. L.R.T.N.-O. 1988, ch. 56 (Suppl.), art. 15.

Personnel

19. (1) Le personnel nécessaire au bon fonctionnement du commissariat est nommé en conformité avec la loi.

Assimilation à fonctionnaire

(2) Le personnel régulier du commissariat, nommé au titre du paragraphe (1), est réputé appartenir à la fonction publique pour l'application de la *Loi sur la fonction publique*.

Statut du commissaire aux langues

(3) Le commissaire aux langues a rang et pouvoirs de sous-ministre. L.R.T.N.-O. 1988, ch. 56 (Suppl.), art. 15.

Duty of Languages Commissioner

20. (1) It is the duty of the Languages Commissioner to take all actions and measures within the authority of the Languages Commissioner with a view to ensuring recognition of the rights, status and privileges of each of the Official Languages and compliance with the spirit and intent of this Act in the administration of the affairs of government institutions, including any of their activities relating to the advancement of the aboriginal languages in the Territories.

Investigations and reports

(2) In carrying out the duties set out in subsection (1), the Languages Commissioner may conduct and carry out investigations either on his or her own initiative or pursuant to any complaint made to the Languages Commissioner and report and make recommendations with respect thereto as provided in this Act.

Meetings with representatives of Official Languages

(3) For the purposes of soliciting the advice of representatives of each Official Language, the Languages Commissioner shall meet not less than once a year with the representatives of such organizations as may be prescribed. R.S.N.W.T. 1988,c.56(Supp.),s.15.

Investigations of complaints

21. (1) The Languages Commissioner shall investigate any reasonable complaint made to the Languages Commissioner arising from any act or omission to the effect that, in any particular instance or case, in the administration of the affairs of any government institution

(a) the status of an Official Language was not or is not being recognized;

(b) any provision of any Act or regulation relating to the status or use of the Official Languages was not or is not being complied with; or

(c) the spirit and intent of this Act was not or is not being complied with.

Refuse or cease investigation

(2) The Languages Commissioner may refuse to investigate or cease to investigate any complaint if in the opinion of the Languages Commissioner it is reasonable to do so, in which case the Languages Commissioner shall inform the complainant of that decision and the reasons for it. R.S.N.W.T. 1988,c.56(Supp.),s.15.

Refer to Government Leader and Deputy Minister

22. (1) If, after carrying out an investigation under this Act, the Languages Commissioner is of the opinion that any matter should be referred to a government institution concerned for consideration and any necessary action, the Languages Commissioner shall report that opinion and the reasons for it to the Government Leader and the

Fonctions du commissaire aux langues

20. (1) Il incombe au commissaire aux langues de prendre, dans le cadre de sa compétence, toutes les mesures visant à assurer la reconnaissance des droits, du statut et des privilèges liés à chacune des langues officielles et à faire respecter l'esprit de la présente loi et l'intention du législateur en ce qui touche l'administration des affaires des institutions gouvernementales, et notamment la promotion des langues autochtones dans les territoires.

Enquêtes

(2) Dans l'exercice des fonctions visées au paragraphe (1), le commissaire aux langues peut procéder à des enquêtes, soit de sa propre initiative, soit à la suite des plaintes qu'il reçoit, et présenter ses rapports et recommandations en conformité avec la présente loi.

Réunions

(3) Aux fins de recueillir l'avis des représentants de chacune des langues officielles, le commissaire aux langues se réunit, au moins une fois l'an, avec les représentants des organisations désignées au règlement. L.R.T.N.-O. 1988, ch. 56 (Suppl.), art. 15.

Plaintes

21. (1) Le commissaire aux langues instruit toute plainte légitime reçue, au sujet d'un acte ou d'une omission, d'une institution gouvernementale, et faisant état d'un cas précis de non-reconnaissance du statut d'une langue officielle, de manquement à une loi ou un règlement sur le statut ou l'usage des langues officielles ou encore à l'esprit de la présente loi et à l'intention du législateur.

Refus d'instruire ou interruption de l'instruction

(2) Le commissaire aux langues peut, s'il l'estime indiqué, refuser ou cesser d'instruire une plainte, auquel cas il donne au plaignant un avis motivé. L.R.T.N.-O. 1988, ch. 56 (Suppl.), art. 15.

Rapport au leader du gouvernement et au sous-ministre

22. (1) Au terme de l'enquête, le commissaire aux langues transmet un rapport motivé au leader du gouvernement ainsi qu'au sous-ministre ou à tout autre responsable administratif de l'institution gouvernementale concernée, s'il est d'avis qu'une question doit être renvoyée à cette institution pour examen et suite à donner au besoin.

Deputy Minister or other administrative head of the institution concerned.

Recommendations

(2) In a report under subsection (1) the Languages Commissioner may make the recommendations that he or she thinks fit and may request the Deputy Minister or other administrative head of the government institution concerned to notify the Languages Commissioner within a specified time of the action, if any, that the institution proposes to take to give effect to those recommendations.

Recommandations

(2) Le commissaire aux langues peut faire les recommandations qu'il juge indiquées dans son rapport; il peut également demander au sous-ministre ou aux autres responsables administratifs de l'institution gouvernementale concernée de lui faire savoir, dans le délai qu'il fixe, les mesures envisagées pour donner suite à ses recommandations.

Inform complainant

(3) The Languages Commissioner shall inform the complainant of the results of an investigation, the recommendations made and any action taken, in the manner and at the time that the Languages Commissioner thinks proper.

Information au plaignant

(3) Le commissaire aux langues communique au plaignant, dans le délai et de la manière qu'il juge indiqués, les résultats de l'enquête, les recommandations faites ainsi que les mesures prises.

Report to Legislative Assembly where appropriate action not taken

(4) If, within a reasonable time after a copy of a report is transmitted to the Government Leader and the Deputy Minister or other administrative head of the government institution, appropriate action has not, in the opinion of the Languages Commissioner, been taken, the Languages Commissioner may make such report thereon to the Legislative Assembly as the Languages Commissioner considers appropriate. R.S.N.W.T. 1988,c.56(Supp.),s.15.

Absence de mesures appropriées

(4) Si, dans un délai raisonnable suivant la transmission d'un exemplaire de son rapport au leader du gouvernement ainsi qu'au sous-ministre ou à tout autre responsable administratif de l'institution gouvernementale, des mesures appropriées n'ont pas, à son avis, été prises, le commissaire aux langues peut présenter à l'Assemblée législative le rapport qu'il juge à propos à ce sujet. L.R.T.N.-O. 1988, ch. 56 (Suppl.), art. 15.

Annual report

23. The Languages Commissioner shall, within a reasonable time after the termination of each year, prepare and submit to the Legislative Assembly a report relating to the conduct of the office of the Languages Commissioner and the discharge of the duties under this Act during the preceding year including recommendations, if any, for proposed changes to this Act that the Languages Commissioner considers necessary or desirable in order to give effect to its spirit and intent. R.S.N.W.T. 1988, c.56(Supp.),s.15.

Rapport annuel

23. Dans un délai raisonnable suivant la fin de chaque année, le commissaire aux langues présente à l'Assemblée législative le rapport d'activité du commissariat pour l'année précédente, assorti éventuellement de recommandations quant aux modifications qu'il estime souhaitable d'apporter à la présente loi pour la rendre conforme à son esprit et à l'intention du législateur. L.R.T.N.-O. 1988, ch. 56 (Suppl.), art. .15

Confidentiality

24. Subject to this Act, the Languages Commissioner and every person acting on behalf or under the direction of the Languages Commissioner shall not disclose any information that comes to their knowledge in the performance of their duties and functions under this Act. R.S.N.W.T. 1988,c.56 (Supp.),s.15.

Secret

24. Sous réserve des autres dispositions de la présente loi, le commissaire aux langues et les personnes agissant en son nom ou sous son autorité sont tenus au secret en ce qui concerne les renseignements dont ils prennent connaissance dans l'exercice des attributions que leur confère la présente loi. L.R.T.N.-O. 1988, ch. 56 (Suppl.), art. 15.

Protection of Commissioner

25. No criminal or civil proceedings lie against the Languages Commissioner, or against any person acting on behalf or under the direction of the Languages Commissioner, for anything done, reported or said in good faith in the course of the exercise or performance or purported exercise or

Immunité

25. Le commissaire aux langues, ou toute personne qui agit en son nom ou sous son autorité, bénéficie de l'immunité civile ou pénale pour les actes accomplis, les rapports ou comptes rendus établis et les paroles prononcées de bonne foi dans l'exercice effectif ou censé de ses attributions. L.R.T.N.-O.

performance of any power, duty or function of the Languages Commissioner under this Act. R.S.N.W.T. 1988,c.56(Supp.),s.15.

1988, ch. 56 (Suppl.), art. 15.

PART III

GENERAL

Enforcement

26. (1) Anyone whose rights under this Act or the regulations have been infringed or denied may apply to a court of competent jurisdiction to obtain a remedy that the court considers appropriate and just in the circumstances.

Languages Commissioner may apply or appear

(2) The Languages Commissioner may
- (a) appear before the Supreme Court on behalf of any person who has applied under subsection (1) for a remedy; or
- (b) with leave of the Supreme Court, appear as a party to any proceedings under subsection (1). R.S.N.W.T. 1988,c.56 (Supp.),s.17,18.

Agreements

27. The Minister or the Commissioner, on the recommendation of the Minister, may, on behalf of the Government of the Northwest Territories, enter into agreements with the Government of Canada or any person or body respecting the implementation of this Act or the regulations or any other matter related to this Act or the regulations. R.S.N.W.T. 1988, c.56(Supp.),s.17.

Regulations

28. The Commissioner, on the recommendation of the Executive Council, may make regulations
- (a) respecting any matter that the Commissioner considers necessary to implement section 12; and
- (b) designating an Official Language or Languages in which communications with and services from regional and community offices shall be provided pursuant to subsection 14(2); and
- (c) as the Commissioner considers necessary for carrying out the purposes and provisions of this Act. R.S.N.W.T. 1988,c.56(Supp.),s.17,19.

PARTIE III

DISPOSITIONS GÉNÉRALES

Recours

26. (1) Toute personne lésée dans les droits que lui confèrent la présente loi et ses règlements peut s'adresser à un tribunal compétent pour obtenir la réparation que le tribunal estime convenable et juste eu égard aux circonstances.

Comparution du commissaire aux langues

(2) Le commissaire aux langues peut, selon le cas :
- a) comparaître devant la Cour suprême au nom de toute personne qui présente une demande de réparation en application du paragraphe (1);
- b) avec l'autorisation de la Cour suprême, comparaître à titre de partie à toute instance introduite en application du paragraphe (1). L.R.T.N.-O. 1988, ch. 56 (Suppl.), art. 17 et 18.

Accords

27. Le ministre, ou le commissaire sur recommandation du ministre, peut, au nom du gouvernement des territoires, conclure des accords avec le gouvernement fédéral ou avec toute personne ou organisme sur la mise en oeuvre de la présente loi et de ses règlements ou sur toute autre question connexe. L.R.T.N.-O. 1988, ch. 56 (Suppl.), art. 17.

Règlements

28. Sur recommandation du Conseil exécutif, le commissaire peut, par règlement :
- a) prendre toute mesure qu'il estime nécessaire à la mise en oeuvre de l'article 12;
- b) désigner une ou des langues officielles pour l'application du paragraphe 14(2);
- c) prendre toute mesure qu'il estime nécessaire à l'application de la présente loi. L.R.T.N.-O. 1988, ch. 56 (Suppl.), art. 17 et 19.

Review after 10 years

29. (1) The Legislative Assembly or a committee of the Legislative Assembly designated or established by it shall review the provisions and operation of the *Official Languages Act* at the next session following December 31, 2000.

Scope of review

(2) The review shall include an examination of the administration and implementation of the Act, the effectiveness of its provisions, the achievement of the objectives stated in its preamble, and may include any recommendations for changes to the Act.

Languages Commissioner assistance

(3) The Languages Commissioner shall provide all reasonable assistance to the Legislative Assembly or any committee of it that is designated or established for the purposes of this section. R.S.N.W.T. 1988,c.56(Supp.),s.20.

Examen après 10 ans

29. (1) L'Assemblée législative ou le comité qu'elle désigne ou crée à cette fin examine la *Loi sur les langues officielles* à la session qui suit le 31 décembre 2000.

Objet de l'examen

(2) L'examen porte sur l'application et la mise en oeuvre de la Loi, l'efficacité de ses dispositions et l'accomplissement des objectifs énoncés dans son préambule; il peut être accompagné de recommandations visant à faire modifier la Loi.

Aide du commissaire aux langues

(3) Le commissaire aux langues fournit l'aide raisonnable dont a besoin l'Assemblée législative ou le comité qu'elle désigne ou crée pour l'application du présent article. L.R.T.N.-O. 1988, ch. 56 (Suppl.), art. 20.

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APPENDIX B

THE *OFFICIAL LANGUAGES POLICY*

Policy

Northwest
Territories

71.10
Official Languages

1. Statement of Policy

It is the policy of the Government of the Northwest Territories that members of the public have reasonable access to its programs and services in the official languages.

2. Principles

The Government of the Northwest Territories will adhere to the following principles when implementing this Policy:

(1) A government's ability to communicate in the official languages of the public it serves is an important part of the operation of good government.

(2) In order to understand and benefit from government's programs and services, the public requires information in the official languages.

(3) A government's provision of services in its official languages recognizes and support the efforts of communities in maintaining and developing those languages.

3. Scope

This Policy applies to all departments of the Government of the Northwest Territories and to those boards and agencies listed in Schedule 1.

4. Definitions

The following terms apply to this Policy:

Deputy Head - the deputy minister of a department, the chief executive officer of a public committee, board or council, or such person as may be appointed as deputy head.

Minister Responsible for Official Languages - the Premier, or such member of the Executive Council may designate as Minister responsible for official languages.

Official Languages - as established under the *Official Languages Act*. The official languages of the Northwest Territories are Chipewyan, Cree, Dogrib, English, French, Gwich'in, Inuktitut, Inuvialuktun, Inuinnaqtun, North Slavey and South Slavey.

Official Languages Guidelines - written instructions that establish specific responsibilities with respect to the use of official languages in the delivery of the programs and services of the Government of the Northwest Territories.

5. Authority and Accountability

(1) General

This Policy is issued under the authority of the Executive Council. The authority to make exceptions and approve revisions to this Policy rests with the Executive Council. Authority and accountability is further defined as follows:

(a) Minister

The Minister of Education, Culture and Employment (the Minister) is accountable to the Executive Council for the implementation of this Policy.

(b) Deputy Minister

The Deputy Minister of Education, Culture and Employment (the Deputy Minister) is accountable to the Minister and responsible to the Minister for the administration of this Policy.

(2) Specific

(a) Executive Council

The Executive Council may approve the Official Languages Guidelines and amendments to the Guidelines.

(b) Minister Responsible for Official Languages

The Minister Responsible for Official Languages:

(i) is responsible for coordinating the delivery of official languages services throughout government;

(ii) may recommend amendments and exceptions to the Official Languages Policy to the Executive Council; and

(iii) may recommend Official Languages Guidelines and amendments to the Guidelines to the Executive Council.

(c) Ministers

Ministers are responsible for the delivery, in accordance with the Official Languages Policy and Guidelines, of programs and services of departments, boards and agencies for which they have responsibility.

(d) Deputy Heads

Deputy Heads are accountable to their respective Ministers for the application of the Official Languages Policy and Guidelines within their areas of responsibility.

6. Prerogative of Executive Council

Nothing in this Policy shall in any way be construed to limit the prerogative of the Executive Council to make decisions or take actions respecting Official Languages outside the provisions of this Policy.

Premier and Chairman of the
Executive Council

Schedule

Boards and Agencies	Schedule 1

SCHEDULE 1

BOARDS AND AGENCIES

The Official Languages Policy applies to the following boards and agencies:

(1) Legislative Assembly

(2) Assessment Appeal Tribunal

(3) Divisional Education Councils

(4) District Education Authorities in Yellowknife

(5) Hospital/Health Boards of Management

(6) Labour Standards Board

(7) Liquor Licensing Board

(8) Northwest Territories Housing Corporation

(9) Northwest Territories Power Corporation

(10) Social Assistance Appeal Board

(11) Territorial Board of Revisions

(12) Workers' Compensation Board

APPENDIX C

SCHEDULE OF PUBLIC CONSULTATIONS

Schedule of Public Consultations

July, 2001	Dene National Assembly, Tulít’a
October 22, 2001	First Territorial Languages Assembly, Yellowknife
November 2001	Dene Leadership Meeting, Yellowknife
March 26 and 27, 2002	Public Hearings, Yellowknife
July, 2002	Dene National Assembly, Fort Simpson
October 1 and 2, 2002	Second Territorial Languages Assembly, Hay River (K’átł’odeeche) Dene Reserve

Community Meetings:

November 19, 2001	Fort Smith
December 10, 2001	Fort Resolution
December 11, 2001	Hay River (K’átł’odeeche) Dene Reserve
December 11, 2001	Hay River
December 12, 2001	Fort Providence
December 14, 2001	Wha Ti
January 27, 2002	Yellowknife
February 4, 2002	Tuktoyaktuk
February 5, 2002	Holman
February 6, 2002	Inuvik
February 7, 2002	Tsiigehtchic
February 7, 2002	Fort McPherson
May 13, 2002	Fort Good Hope
May 13, 2002	Deline
May 15, 2002	Fort Simpson
September 10, 2002	Aklavik
September 18, 2002	Łútsëlk’e

APPENDIX D

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON THE MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY SPECIAL COMMITTEE

Biographical Notes on the Members of the Legislative Assembly Special Committee

Steven Nitah, Chair
MLA, Tu Nedhe

Steven Brian Nitah was elected to the 14th Legislative Assembly of the NorthwestTerritories on December 6th, 1999.

Born in Yellowknife on April 19th, 1967 Mr. Nitah was brought up by his grandparents on the land in and around Lutsel K'e until he moved to Yellowknife for high school. He is also a graduate of the Native Studies program offered by Arctic College (now known as Aurora College) and Trent University.

Prior to his election Mr. Nitah worked with Diavik Diamonds as a liaison between the company and communities in the Northwest Territories. He has also worked as a Treaty Entitlement Co-ordinator and a recreation co-ordinator for the band in Lutselk'e, a researcher for the Dene Cultural Institute and as an associate producer for CBC North Television.

He has also served as a member on the Lutsel K'e band council and as the Chairman of the Denisuline Development Corporation in Lutsel K'e.

Mr. Nitah is also a member of the Northwest Territories Metis Reelers, a traditional Metis dancing group, and has toured with the group visiting many communities in the Northwest Territories and Canada. Mr. Nitah is also active in the sporting community in the Northwest Territories.

Mr. Nitah has a daughter Haven and a son Mason.

David Krutko, Deputy Chair
MLA, Mackenzie-Delta

David Michael Krutko was born on November 11, 1957 in Aklavik, NT and was raised in Fort McPherson. He was elected to the 13th Legislative Assembly on October 16, 1995 and re-elected on December 6, 1999 to represent the Mackenzie-Delta constituency that includes Fort McPherson, Tsiigehtchic and Aklavik. He attended school in Fort McPherson and Inuvik. He later worked in the oil industry in the Beaufort Sea and in Norman Wells. Mr. Krutko was an independent contractor in the early 1980s in Fort McPherson and the surrounding area.

He has worked as a negotiator on the Dene Metis Land Claim Agreement and was a senior negotiator on the Gwich'in and the Sahtu Agreements. Also, Mr. Krutko has served as the Vice-President of the MetisNation of the Northwest Territories, Vice-President of the Mackenzie Delta Tribal Council (now the Gwich'inTribal Council), President of the Fort McPherson Metis Local, President of the Fort McPherson Hunters andTrappers Association, Councillor for the Fort McPherson Indian Band (now the Tetlit Gwich'in Council).Councillor for the Hamlet of Fort McPherson, Director of the Mackenzie Delta-Beaufort Sea Regional Planning

Commission, member of the Gwich'in Land and Water Board, member of the Mackenzie Valley Land and Water Board, Director of the Metis Development Corporation and co-chairman of the Northwest Territories Tourism Training Group.

As a Member of the 13th Assembly Mr. Krutko served as the chairman and member of a number of Standing and Special Committees. These included chairman of the Standing Committee on Resource Management and Development and a member of the Standing Committee on Government Operations and the Striking Committee. He was also a member of the Special Committee on Western Identity and a member of the Constitutional Working Group. He was an alternate Member on the Rules Committee.

Following division of the Northwest Territories on April 1, 1999 Mr. Krutko became the Deputy Speaker ofthe Legislative Assembly and chairman of Committee of the Whole and chair of the Standing Committee on Resource Management and Infrastructure. He also became a full-time member of the Rules Committee.

Mr. Krutko has four children: Gordie, Laura, Joanne, and Michelle.

Hon. Roger T. Allen
MLA, Inuvik Twin Lakes

Roger T. Allen was elected as the first Member of the Legislative Assembly for the electoral district for Inuvik Twin Lakes on December 6th, 1999. In January 2000, he was elected to Cabinet, and was later appointed by the Premier to serve as the Minister Responsible for the Northwest Territories Housing Corporation, Public Utilities Board and Youth. As of November 7th, 2001 he became Minister of Justice. In February 2002, the Premier appointed Roger Allen as Lead Minister to address the issue of homelessness.

Prior to his election to the 14th Assembly, Mr. Allen had considerable experience in municipal politics serving as the Mayor of Aklavik from 1991 to 1993 and a Councilor in 1990. He also served as a member of Inuvik's Town Council in 1988 and was the President of the Committee for Original Peoples' Entitlement.

Mr. Allen was the contract administrator and operator of the open custody group home in Inuvik prior to being elected as the MLA for Inuvik Twin Lakes.

Mr. Allen was a member of the Canadian Junior National Cross-Country Ski Team from 1968-70. He was also a member of the Canadian Senior National Cross-Country Ski Team from 1970-72.

He competed in the Junior World Nordic Championships in Bad Gosau, Austria in 1970 for Canada. He competed for Canada at the World Nordic Championships in Vysoke Tatry, Czechoslovakia in 1970.

In 1972 he was a member of the Canadian National Ski Team competing in the Winter Olympic Games in Sapporo, Japan.

After the Winter Olympics he was a member of the University of Colorado Buffalo's NCAA Ski Championship team from 1972-73.

Mr. Allen took the Legal Studies/Commercial Law course from the Athabasca University in 1996 and also attended the University of Colorado where he took the first year of the General Arts and Science program. Mr. Allen graduated from Samuel Hearne Secondary School in Inuvik in 1971. He was born in Aklavik, Northwest Territories on May 5, 1952.

Mr. Allen and his wife Vanessa have four children and one grandchild.

Brendan Bell
MLA, Yellowknife South

Brendan Bell was elected to the 14th Legislative Assembly on December 6th, 1999. Born on August 17, 1971, Mr. Bell moved from Iqaluit, Nunavut to Yellowknife in 1983.

After attending St. Patrick and William McDonald Junior High Schools, Brendan graduated from Sir John Franklin High School in Yellowknife. He received a Bachelor of Commerce degree from the University of Calgary.

Prior to his election to the Legislative Assembly, Mr. Bell was a businessman in Yellowknife and also worked as a management consultant with a Yellowknife firm for several years.

Mr. Bell was the recipient of the Business Development Corporation's "Young Entrepreneur of the Year Award" for the NWT in 1997. In 1999 his company, Javaroma Gourmet Coffee & Tea Ltd. also received the Conference Board of Canada's "Top Employer of Youth Award" for the NWT.

Brendan is a member of the Standing Committee on Accountability and Oversight, Board of Management and Special Committee on the Review of the Official Languages Act. He was appointed Chair of the Special Committee on Conflict Process in June of 2001. Mr. Bell is currently the Chair of the Standing Committee on Social Programs and Chair of the Standing Committee on Rules and Procedures.

Michael McLeod
MLA, Deh Cho

Michael McLeod was elected on December 6th, 1999 as the Member for the Deh Cho in the 14th Legislative Assembly of the Northwest Territories.

Born in Fort Providence on September 6th, 1959, Mr. McLeod served as the Mayor of the Deh Cho hamlet prior to his election. He is the Vice-President of Metis Local No. 57 in Fort Providence.

Prior to be chosen to sit as the Member for Deh Cho, Mr. McLeod worked for five years as the band manager for the Fort Providence Dene Council and also spent five years as an Economic Development Officer for the Government of the Northwest Territories. He also spent several years as a private contractor in Fort Providence.

Mr. McLeod has a diploma in Management Studies from Arctic College and is an active community volunteer including volunteering for the Mackenzie Daze celebration. He is an honorary member of the local Friendship Centre.

Mr. McLeod and his wife Joyce have one son Kevin and two daughters, Robyn and Shawna.

APPENDIX E

LIST & ROLE OF COMMITTEE STAFF AND ADVISORS

List & Role of Committee Staff and Advisors

Benoît Boutin, Committee Coordinator (May 2001 to completion) — Mr. Boutin was seconded from the GNWT and carried overall responsibility for support to the Special Committee in meeting its terms of reference. He assembled budgets and staff, coordinated the public consultation process, and saw to the development and delivery of all research and report preparation. Benoît was the Committee's lead in advancing the policy proposals for drafting the legislation in the report. He also played a lead role in advising the Committee on the French language issues. Benoît coordinated and facilitated the many meetings with the Committee and its staff through out the review.

Peter Redvers, Principal Writer (March 2002 to March 2003) — Mr. Redvers was a consultant to the Committee, serving as the report writer for SCOL's progress, summary and final reports. Peter also assisted the review through his research and content knowledge. Peter runs his own northern-based consulting practice, working in areas that include community development, research, training, management, Aboriginal language planning, and traditional knowledge.

Denise Bekkema, (May 2001 to August, 2002) and **Wayne Balanoff,** (August 2002 to March 2003) **Manager, Research and Information** — Ms. Bekkema and Mr. Balanoff were responsible for the report research and analysis. Wayne also played a key support role in moving the report through the draft stage to production.

H. J. (Hal) Gerein, PhD, MCIP, Senior Editor & Advisor (January 2002 to March 2003) — Dr. Gerein, a former deputy minister in the NWT and BC, was a consultant to the Committee and staff, serving as an advisor and senior editor. He assisted with the review outline, research design and project schedule. He also contributed to the terms of reference for the various studies and expert reviews .

Expert Reviewers

As noted in Chapter 1, the Special Committee had Chapters 2 through 6 reviewed in final draft form by the following content experts, to further ensure the report's accuracy and validity and reasonably assure itself of the review's comprehensiveness:

Chapter 2 —	Dr. Leslie Saxon, Graduate Advisor, Department of Linguistics, University of Victoria.
Chapter 3 —	Mr. Dennis Patterson, former Premier of the Northwest Territories.
Chapter 4 —	Ms. Betty Harnum, consultant linguist and former Languages Commissioner of the NWT.
Chapter 5 —	Dr. Leslie Saxon, Graduate Advisor, Department of Linguistics, University of Victoria.
Chapter 6 —	Ms. Doris McCann, Management Consultant, Red Willow Consulting Ltd. and Ms. Helen Balanoff, Consultant.
Proofreading —	Ms. Helen Balanoff, English.